Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389

Dawn Marie Hayes

BODY AND SACRED PLACE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE, 1100–1389

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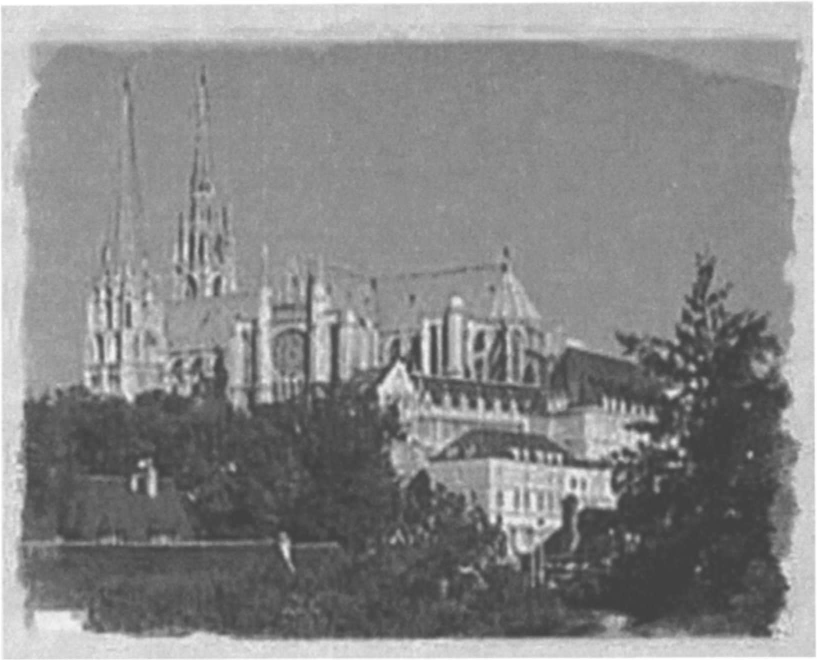
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Francis G.Gentry

For my husband, Joseph Sr., and our children
Joseph Jr., Anastasia, Madeleine and Alessandra,
with my love and devotion

and in loving memory of my maternal grandfather
Nicholas Alfred Pepe
(February 5, 1920–November 18, 1997)
for the rare bond we shared



Chartres Cathedral. *(Photo: James Raymond Blaettler, S.J.)*

LES PLUS GRANDS PRODUITS DE L'ARCHITECTURE sont moins des oeuvres individuelles que des oeuvres sociales; plutôt l'enfantement des peuples en travail que le jet des hommes de génie; le dépôt que laisse une nation; les entassements que font les siècles; le résidu des évaporations successives de la société humaine….

Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*

AND THEY HEARD ME WHISPER TO MYSELF, "That dirt which is on a man's hands is nothing." Now I said aloud, "What comes out of a man, however, can defile him." …Of course, they were terrified of evil from without! They were terrified even of the dust of the road and the mud of the fields. For as they saw it…it took no more than one mote of non-observance to unbalance the scales within.

Norman Mailer, *The Gospel According to the Son*

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Introduction

THIS STUDY EXPLORES DYNAMIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN HUMAN BODIES and sacred places in the central Middle Ages.[1] It argues that Christian bodies and church buildings were inextricably joined to the extent that rarely could one exist without the other. Although this bond was forged by and reflected in the ideology of learned perceptions of sacred space, nevertheless it was present in the actual practice of these places as well. Part I of the study explores the way these exchanges are revealed in documents of theory. Chapter One, "Learned Conceptions of Sacred Place: Building and Body as Two Facades of Christian Worship in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," posits that clergy cultivated two facades of Christian sacred place—church and body—and compares the rite of consecration to the sacrament of baptism to lay bare this connection. This analysis is followed by "History Incarnate: Human Bodies and Ideal Sacred Place in *The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres,*" which grounds the miracle collection in its historical context, suggesting that it was intended to generate funds for rebuilding the church destroyed by the great fire of 1194. At Chartres Cathedral the intimacy between medieval churches and bodies was made explicit as its main relic, the holy tunic that had touched the bodies of Jesus and Mary, was the source of the church's mediating authority. As a vehicle for pious propaganda the *Miracles* offers a glimpse at one community's conception of ideal sacred place as bishop and canons showcased their cathedral. Chartres contained residual sanctity from the holiest bodies in Christian history that enabled it to restore the damaged and dead bodies of the faithful.

Part II takes another approach to the relationship and has been influenced by Umberto Eco's suggestion that to understand a system of belief it is often necessary to study its margins. I am persuaded by Eco's argument that at its periph ery the flexibility of a system is revealed.[2] "Earthly Uses of Heavenly Spaces: Non-Liturgical Activities in Sacred Place" explores the mundane use of sacred places and reveals their ambiguity as bodies challenged the idealized perceptions discussed in Part I. The non-liturgical use of sacred spaces at times betrays an intellectual divide between clergy and laity, but it also reveals a world that was less concerned, I think, with compartmentalizing space and restricting activity than in the centuries that

followed. Chapter Four, "Body as Champion of Church Authority and Sacred Place: The Murder of Thomas Becket," turns to the outright desecration of church space. It examines the accounts of the murder of the twelfth-century archbishop slain in his cathedral and argues that long after his spirit departed Thomas' corpse continued to champion ecclesiastical authority and the church space that his assassins had sacrilegiously violated.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

One of the most fascinating aspects of medieval culture is the competition between sacred and profane jurisdictions, which reveals attitudes that are very different from modern ones. Today the most popular way of understanding the relationship between *sacred* and *profane* in the western world is to dichotomize it. Modern popular opinion in the West accepts the division of the world into polarized sacred and profane spheres. Consider, for example, a relatively recent article in *The New York Times* that discusses the discovery of secret graves in Guatemala; the author writes:

> As [the scientists'] investigations proceed, it becomes clear that military executioners regarded no place as sacred. In the isolated central highland town of San Andrés Sajcabajá, for instance, the scientists have begun excavating the interior of a 16th-century church. On May 22 they unearthed four bodies from two graves that also contained bullet casings, military food tins, pornographic playing cards and camouflage burlap bags.… By 1980, residents recall, fighting in the area [had been] so intense that priests and nuns were forced to flee, and the Guatemalan Army moved into the roofless sanctuary, turning it into a barracks and interrogation center.[3]

The writer, anticipating the reaction of his audience, is clearly shocked to learn that this sixteenth-century church had been used for mundane and profane activities. The expectation is that the executioners would have respected the sanctuary (a world with an entirely different reality) and would not have stored ammunition, eaten meals, played card games, and slept overnight on this holy ground. The use of the church for torture and makeshift graves is even more unsettling to modern readers.

This dichotomous approach to sacred space has roots in Emile Durkheim's sociology, which holds that one of the elementary forms of religious life is the division of the world into separate spheres of sacred and profane.[4] Durkheim responded to William Robertson Smith's earlier work on Semitic religion that had maintained the ambiguity of the sacred.[5] Durkheim's view is perhaps most comfortable to a society such as our own that neatly compartmentalizes knowledge; this, in fact, may be why many people still turn to this model to make sense of their experiences. Indeed, the

anthropologist Mary Douglas has remarked that differentiation is a hallmark of historical progress so that undifferentiated: primitive:: differentiated: modern; technological advances result in differentiation in every sphere of human existence.[6]

For those who study the pre-modern societies of the European Middle Ages Durkheim's model is not as useful. To the average medieval person the physical world was at one and the same time sacred and profane—sacred as God's creation, profane as a place of human exile. Even God himself joined the two spheres according to the doctrine of the Incarnation; the Church maintained that Christ was simultaneously fully human and fully divine. Durkheim's assertion that "religious and profane life cannot coexist in the same space" does not hold for Christianity since to a Christian both spheres coexisted in the world.[7] Durkheim maintained that "if religious life is to develop, a sacred place must be prepared for it, one from which profane life is excluded…[the] institution of temples and sanctuaries arise from this."[8] This study aims to sensitize modern readers to the fact that, contrary to many modern perceptions of churches, in the Middle Ages mundane and profane life was not fully excluded from Christian sacred places.

Mircea Eliade has noted a special characteristic of Christianity that may help explain the contradiction between the theoretical and practical uses of medieval sacred spaces. He observes that unlike many religions that encourage their members to look beyond historical time and events, Christianity teaches its believers that God can be encountered in the world. The potentiality inherent in Christian historical time may provide a theoretical foundation for the accommodation of non-devotional activity in medieval sacred places and may explain why it was not fully set apart from the world. In addition, people's belief in the church as an earthly reflection of the city of God may have rendered non-devotional activities more acceptable as the church building began to resemble a true city and reflect the cares and concerns of urban life.

The ambiguous relationship between sacred and profane in the Christian tradition has been discussed by Harold W.Turner, who has argued that the New Testament signaled an important change in the history of the conception of sacred place by introducing the body as a competing focus. No longer was sacred place circumscribed within the space of the temple. By the central Middle Ages sacred place was established and functioned through a dialogue between buildings and bodies, the two distinct but intimately related facades of Christian sacred place.

Little has been written on the relationship between churches and bodies in the Middle Ages, including the tension of non-liturgical activity in sacred places. Late last century and early in this century some work was done on this subject for medieval England by Sidney Oldall Addy and William Andrews.[9] These works are narrative and do not address larger questions of meaning and significance of such uses. More recently J.G.Davies has done

work in this area.[10] Davies' emphasis is on offering these non-liturgical uses of sacred space as examples by which modern worshippers should abide; he does not address the larger question of what these uses reveal about medieval society. Medieval France has hardly been touched. In the seventeenth century Jean Baptiste Thiers, a canon of Chartres, published a book on the diverse uses of church porches.[11] More recently an article has been published on the use of Chartres Cathedral for lodging medieval pilgrims.[12] But again, they do not consider these activities in a broad historical context.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL PARAMETERS

This study focuses on northwestern Europe (mainly France and England) in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and uses documents from the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Chartres for grounding. Despite the trials of the church's history, Chartres still remains one of the best-documented medieval cathedrals, and its sources provide a fascinating view of the conversations between churches and bodies in the central Middle Ages.

SOURCES

Since this book seeks to establish the mutually supportive exchanges between body and sacred place as well as to reveal the tension between the medieval theory and practice of sacred place, I have chosen to consult both "documents of theory" and "documents of practice."[13] Part I draws on a number of sources, the most important of which are the liturgy of consecration contained in the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century, Ivo of Chartres' *Sermon 4,* and *The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres*. These documents reveal ideal sacred place, the way the authors of these works hoped churches would be created and function.

The evidence for Part II of this work has been culled from various sources, most of which would fall under the category "documents of practice." Any study of non-liturgical and profane uses of sacred places will draw on a wide variety of documents and forces the researcher to cast his or her net far and wide. I have done so and have just skimmed the surface. I offer chapter three as a seed for a more ambitious and well-needed study. The material for chapter four, which focuses on perhaps the most famous profanation of the church sanctuary in the Middle Ages, is taken primarily from the eyewitness accounts of Thomas Becket's murder.

This study begins by looking at why—and how—sacred places were made in the twelfth century, and how in their ambiguity they reflected each and every Christian body of the time.

Part I

Incorporating Conceptions of Medieval Sacred Places

Chapter One
Learned Conceptions of Sacred Place
Building and Body as Two Facades of Christian Worship in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

A FUNDAMENTAL TENSION EXISTED IN THE FORMULATION OF A MEDIEVAL conception of sacred place due to the inherent contradictions within Biblical authority. The Old Testament tradition enshrined the physical space of the temple as the holy locus for worship ["But I…will enter your house, I will bow down toward your holy temple in awe of you." (Psalm 5: 7)], while the New Testament was filled with language ["Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you? …God's temple is holy, and you are that temple." (I Corinthians 3:16–17)] that personalized *and* particularized the individual Christian's body as a temple.[1] The baptized Christian body even consumed the mystical body of Christ in the Eucharist in the bodily act of eating.

Learned medieval Christians, therefore, nurtured two distinct views of sacred place. They had to. Focusing on churches while neglecting the role of the temple of the soul in worship would have been a rejection of New Testament tradition. On the other hand, cultivating the importance of the human body in worship while ignoring the tradition of buildings would have rendered impossible a catholic Christian church. If they were going to cultivate a universal church, medieval Christians had to maintain hierarchy and structure in their religion. A way medieval Christians harmonized the two facades of sacred place was to think of the baptism of bodies and the consecration of churches as two sides of the same ritual. Both separated, cleansed, and strengthened places of worship. The only real difference was the material they affected: baptism was a sacrament of flesh, consecration a rite of stone.

This chapter addresses the two facades of Christian worship, then moves to medieval comparisons of baptism and consecration. It finishes with a discussion of the levels of sacredness within and without the church fabric.

THE AMBIGUITY OF CHRISTIAN SACRED PLACE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Medieval people had two main reasons for maintaining church buildings for worship. The first was biblical precedent and the second was a need for safe space in a threatening world. The complex relationship between benevolent and malevolent phenomena in the Middle Ages fostered the tradition of temple worship established in the Old Testament.

Hugh of St. Victor, a twelfth-century scholar monk writing in Paris, offers an especially articulate description of the contests between good and evil in the temporal world. Hugh used a vertical spatial metaphor to represent the five spiritual states of man. At the top is heaven, which contains only the highest good; the second level is paradise which, although it contains good, does not possess the highest quality of good; the middle realm is the world which contains good and bad; fourth is purgatory which contains bad but not the worst; finally, at the bottom, is hell which only contains the highest evil. According to Hugh the devil had enticed Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden because he was envious of the upward move Adam made away from the earth, the locus and substance of his creation, to Paradise:

> Therefore, man by Divine Providence was established as lord of the world in a place of delights and, as it were, in a favoured position…and when the devil saw this he was envious that man should ascend there through obedience whence he himself had fallen through pride.[2]

Hugh suggests a vertical continuum in which to consider mankind's entire experience. Temporal existence is in the middle, the space where good and evil coexist in various gradations. Unlike the devil whose fall from his exalted heights had been precipitous, humans only fell from the second to the third rung and remain able to earn salvation instead of damnation; temporal existence is a transitory liminal state that exists to give people the opportunity to repent their sins:

> Therefore, three things occur here for consideration in the first place on the restoration of man: time, place, remedy. The time is the present life from the beginning of the world even to the end of the world. The place is this world. The remedy consists in three things: in faith, in the sacraments, in good works. The time is long, lest man be taken unprepared. The place is rough that the prevaricator may be punished. The remedy is efficacious that the weak may be healed.[3]

In the middle of Hugh's continuum, the temporal world where good and evil coexist, the forces of good and evil are not strong because they are not pure; they are weak and joined in a liminal place to provide salvific

opportunity for humans. Hugh's vision is of a place where the primeval struggle replays over and over. The world is ground zero for the battle between good and evil, ever-present and ever-close. Sacred places, therefore, are necessary to create safe spaces of worship.

This is not to say, however, that absolute barriers could be maintained between good and evil; Hugh's and other learned medieval people's perceptions of the complex and dynamic relationship between the two forces and their related parallel constructs of spiritual and worldly, sacred and profane, were influenced by the belief that sacredness could readily appear in profane time and space. Unlike the many religions that encourage their members to look beyond historical time and events, Christianity emphasizes that God can be encountered in the world.[4] The potentiality inherent in historical time impairs the spiritual vs. worldly or sacred vs. profane model because in the Christian tradition the temporal world has in the past and will continue in the future to witness manifestations of sacredness. Medieval Christians built an entire subculture around a belief in the miraculous and spontaneous intercession of saints in everyday existence.[5]

Medieval people considered sacredness to be contagious which added to the complexity of the relationship between benevolent and malevolent phenomena.[6] The sacred charge of a place (or a person or object) could transfer to an ordinary object and render it more than it was.[7] Suger, abbot in the early twelfth century of Saint-Denis outside Paris, understood this process. Referring to an old vase that he had adapted for Christian service by adding gold and silver to it, he writes, "This stone deserves to be enclosed in gems and gold. It was marble, but in these (settings) it is more precious than marble."[8] In the thirteenth-century *Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres* a knight who fears for his safety goes to the cathedral to receive sacred energy from its main relic, the tunic the Virgin wore when she gave birth to Christ.[9] He carries with him shirts, which he reverently touches to the reliquary. The sacred energy enters the shirts, and when he wears them, his enemies are unable to harm him.[10] In the Middle Ages any person, place, or object that came into contact with a source of sacredness had the opportunity to appropriate its energy.[11]

Invasion of sacred places by profane people and actions also concerned medieval people. This process was complicated by the idea of intent that began to be articulated in the early twelfth century by members of the school of Laon such as William of Champeaux. It was, however, William's student, the French scholar Peter Abelard, who wrote extensively about the importance of consent to sin.[12] As David Luscombe points out, Abelard may have reacted to a penitential system that did little to distinguish between sinners' dispositions.[13] Further his *Scito te ipsum* revolutionized ethics by asserting that goodness was not merely the conformity of actions with God's laws, as had been earlier believed. Instead, goodness and evil were directly related to the individual's consent to an evil will:

> The doing of deeds has no bearing upon an increase of sin and nothing pollutes the soul except what is of the soul, that is, the consent which alone we have called sin, not the will which precedes it nor the doing of the deed which follows. For even though we will or do what is not fitting, we do not therefore sin, since these things often happen without sin, just as conversely consent occurs without them.[14]

This is not to say that Abelard believed that actions by nature were morally neutral and that the decision to pursue an evil will alone made them bad. Abelard thought that although consent determined the ethical quality of an action, nevertheless deeds should conform to divine law. But he did argue for an awareness of the importance of consent to sin, a recognition that complicated the discussion of moral behavior.

Abelard's privatization of sin made it more difficult to determine whether a church had been profaned.[15] It was no longer a cut and dry decision that could be made solely by an investigation of material circumstances. Now at least part of the evidence that determined whether a church had been profaned rested within the agents mind. What is particularly striking about Abelard's contribution is that it was in conformity with the spirit of the New Testament. He asserted the importance of inner will at the expense of external circumstance. As Mary Douglas notes, Christianity made a theoretical break with Judaism over the need for material purity. She argues, though, that the concern for pollution characteristic of Mosaic law survived in early Christianity.[16] She argues that later on when canon law was codified, measures for ritual purity were not incorporated.[17] The few examples of concern for ritual uncleanness that remain, Douglas asserts, were later interpreted as having symbolic spiritual meaning:

> For example, it is usual to reconsecrate a church if blood has been shed in its precincts, but St. Thomas Aquinas explains that 'bloodshed' refers to voluntary injury leading to bloodshed, which implies sin, and that it is sin in a holy place which desecrates it, not defilement by bloodshed. Similarly, the rite for purification of a mother probably does derive ultimately from Judaic practice, but the modern Roman Ritual, which dates back to Pope Paul V (1605–21), presents the churching of women simply as an act of thanksgiving.[18]

Douglas is partially right. When Gratian's *Decretum* was compiled in the first half of the twelfth century it maintained that a church could be polluted simply by coming into contact with human blood and that the building would have to be consecrated (purified and sanctified) anew.[19] Yet the Decretals of Gregory IX, which were promulgated in 1234, just over a century later, appear to have been influenced by Abelard's theory of intentionality. Actions that violated churches had to be purposefully sinful; the agent had to have

followed an ill will directly before the deed. As Douglas points out, the thirteenth-century Italian Dominican Thomas Aquinas echoed this belief. So too did William Durandus, a cleric who lived in the same century.[20]

Church building in the Middle Ages, therefore, had been inspired by Old Testament tradition and encouraged by medieval people's perception of a need for safe places of worship in a contentious world. Churches were not absolute barriers to the outside world. Sacred places could be polluted by peoples thoughts and deeds. The value of church buildings stemmed from their reserved nature, which offered the potential of a place in which to communicate with God.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MULTIFACETED BODY TO CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF SACRED PLACE

Christian theology locates sacred place beyond church walls in a new locus: a versatile and multifaceted body. As Miri Rubin has noted, in a medieval context the body is the ultimate metaphor, at one and the same time having deep roots in sacramental cosmology and people's personal experiences.[21] The three major bodies of the Middle Ages were the human body, the social body, and the body of Christ (in its natural *and* eucharistic forms), which through metaphor and metonymy could be used to transfer spiritual worth and power to the first two.[22] This is not to say that buildings were not an important aspect of early Christian worship. They certainly were. Yet a more important repository appears: the body of Christ, which incorporates individually and collectively the bodies of all Christians.[23] Turner has considered the ambiguity in the Christian understanding of sacred place. He argues that the New Testament signaled an important change in the history of the conception of sacred place because, perhaps for the first time, a person became the preeminent sacred site of a religion:

> a major transformation in the interpretation and use of the temple had occurred …[which] consisted of the gradual abandonment of the Jewish temple as a material sanctuary defined in terms of physical place, and its replacement by a 'personal place,' the place where Jesus was in his body the Church, as the new sanctuary…. The Church in the New Testament is never the place or the building where it may be meeting, but always the community where Christ is with his people.[24]

The location of the temple in the body of Christ had a number of consequences. As Turner points out, this shift addressed one of the great paradoxes of sacred place by enabling God's transcendent and immanent presences to manifest themselves fully at the same time. Jesus' natural body made visible a god who had a primarily transcendent presence. Another implication of this process is that as the new temple Jesus assumed one of the

major functions of sacred place: a meeting point for heaven and earth. Jesus "…was gathering up into himself in an ontological fashion all that sacred places had endeavored to do in religion through doors, gates, thresholds, and other 'entrance phenomena… .'"[25]

Jesus had been accused by his attackers of claiming to be able to destroy the temple and raise it in three days (Matt. 26:60–61). The Gospel of Mark refines the accusation, saying that Jesus had been accused of claiming that he would destroy the temple made by hand and replace it with one that was not made by hand (Mark 14:57–58). The most explicit account of this story is in the Gospel of John. When Jesus had driven the vendors and moneychangers from the temple, the Jews asked for a sign as proof of his authority. Jesus responded that they should destroy the temple, which he would raise in three days. The Jews retorted that it had taken forty-six years to build it and they doubted Jesus' ability to raise the sanctuary in such a short period of time. They misunderstood, though, that Jesus was referring to his own body and not the physical temple (John 2:18–21). Jesus' mystical body melded with the community that soon formed in his memory. An articulation of the change in the nature of the temple can be found in Paul's letter to the Ephesians (Eph. 2: 13–22), where Paul uses the form of the physical temple to describe a new temple of living substance:

> But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us. He has abolished the law with its commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace, and might reconcile both groups to God in one body through the cross, thus putting to death that hostility through it. So he came and proclaimed peace to those who were near; for through him both of us have access in one Spirit to the Father. So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built together spiritually into a dwelling place for God.

The image of the temple curtain ripping in two at the time of Jesus' death also suggests something powerful about the relationship of Jesus' body to the temple. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke mention the event (Matt. 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45). That the veil that separated the most holy part of the sanctuary tore at the time Jesus died suggests that his crucifixion, which atoned for the original sin in the Garden of Eden, mended the rift between God and his people. The death of the God-man reunited what was

on either side of the curtain: sacred and profane, spiritual and worldly, clean and unclean. Durandus' position on the tearing of the curtain is that the Holy of Holies, which had been hidden from sight, was now able to be seen.[26] The sacrifice of Jesus' natural body, therefore, unified these polarities in a new mystical body that transcended time and space.

The New Testament's revolutionary theory of sacred place was not and could not be fully realized. Despite its message suggesting that the gap between sacred and profane had been closed and that the physical temple therefore became less important than Christ's corporeal and mystical bodies, throughout the centuries Christians have continued to erect churches. Mary Douglas sheds light on the need for Christians to maintain the earlier tradition of temple building:

> A contrast between interior will and exterior enactment goes deep into the history of Judaism and Christianity. Of its very nature any religion must swing between these two poles. There must be a move from internal to external religious life if a new religion endures even a decade after its first revolutionary fervour.[27]

Although early Christians understood themselves to be temples, the very nature of religion demanded that they build churches of stone to accomodate and focus public worship.

Drawing on Victor Turner's organizing principles of society, *communitas* and structure, Gábor Klaniczay offers interesting suggestions about the polarity inherent in Christianity.[28] *Communitas* is a social force that emphasizes the equality within a group of people while structure stresses the differences that are manifested in categories such as gender, age, and wealth. In a Christian context these two principles have a fascinatingly complex relationship. As Turner points out, although structure is present in Christianity (which had a *highly* developed hierarchy by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), nevertheless *communitas* has been a vitally important principle that was infused into the religion by Jesus himself and later expanded on by St. Paul (Matt. 20:26–28; Gal. 3:28).

Turner observes that Christianity had developed a system of *communitas* that was intended to exist on its own.[29] He points out, though, that only in rare instances can a system of *communitas* flourish. In fact, *communitas* almost always needs structure to survive. In the medieval Christian tradition this meant that in a wonderful paradox the idea of equality of people and spaces could only be maintained by the highly developed hierarchical church. This is what Turner called normative *communitas*. Summing up the process, Klaniczay writes:

> The polarity recognizable in the history of Christianity institutionalized the contrasting principles of communitas-anti-structure and of structure

> in a more contradictory manner than did either the conventional ritual order or the traditional mythologies. The values of communitas occupied an eminent position, but were discredited through having acquired normative and ideological functions. By contrast, the principles of structure, no matter how precarious their position in the religion itself, were nevertheless indispensable for the maintenance of ideological communitas. Even if the Church did not always sanction them, it was forced to comply with them tacitly.[30]

Klaniczay offers a circular model based on centripetal and centrifugal forces for considering these principles. *Communitas* is a centripetal force because its movement is toward the center (in a Christian context it is the force that pulls in the direction of the original teachings of Jesus). Structure is a centrifugal force, which represents movement away from the center; it supports trends toward organized and differentiated spheres of existence. Klaniczay's model explains the dynamics of the competition inherent in medieval sacred places. The medieval churches that remain today are physical evidence of people submitting to the force of structure.

The tension produced by *communitas* and structure was acknowledged, if only tacitly, by twelfth-century theologians and canonists thereby inadvertently supplying ammunition for political theorists. In *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology,* Ernst Kantorowicz discusses the development of the political theory that kings had two bodies: a natural mortal body and a corporate immortal body. He argues that this belief articulated in the late Middle Ages stems from Christian theological thought, particularly the twelfth-century articulation of the Lord's two bodies, which argues that Christ has two bodies, one spiritual, the other material.[31] Simon of Tournai, who taught in Paris around 1200, expresses this sentiment, "Two are the bodies of Christ: the human material body which he assumed from the Virgin, and the spiritual collegiate body, the ecclesiastical college."[32] Gregory of Bergamo, Simon's contemporary, echoed him, "One is the body which is the sacrament, another the body of which it is the sacrament…One body of Christ which is he himself, and another body of which he is the head."[33] Guibert of Nogent, a twelfth-century French monk, went so far as to assert that this model was devised by Christ, who "wanted to lead us from his original body to his collective body."[34] The forces of *communitas* and structure are noticeable in the division of Christ's body, although each part can represent either force. If his natural body represents the equality of *communitas* because of its human form, it is also differentiated because it contains divinity as well as humanity. If, however, his spiritual body represents the equality of *communitas* because it incorporates all the faithful, Christ himself is also the hierarchical leader of this body. Thus, both forces are discernible in each of the two bodies they define.

As Klaniczay points out there were people who dissapproved of the building of sacred places in the Middle Ages.[35] Some men such as the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Chanter, cantor of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, objected to the size, grandeur, and sheer number of churches built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[36] Some heretical groups went so far as to deny outright the efficacy of sacred places. The heretics of Arras argued that there was nothing more worthy of religion in the house of God than in people's own bedrooms; churches were merely structures of stone and mortar built by the labors of men.[37] And the followers of Peter of Bruis, a twelfth-century heretic who preached in France, maintained in the full spirit of the New Testament that God hears people's prayers equally and in all places:

> the fabric of churches or temples should not be made, in fact it is fitting that they be demolished, nor are sacred places necessary for prayer in Christianity, because God invoked hears equally in a tavern as in a church, in a marketplace as in a temple, before an altar or a stable, and listens to those who are worthy.[38]

The twelfth- and thirteenth-century dissenters had early Christian predecessors. Jaroslav Pelikan argues that early Christians surpassed Jews in the renunciation of sacred places and images.[39] The Apostle himself said, "The God who made the world and everything in it, he who is Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by human hands." (Acts 17: 24)

In the medieval view of the world temporal existence was the middle stage in a rite of passage from damnation to salvation.[40] The material world with its competing forces of good and evil was a place where the sins of the past and the promise of the future merged. The contentious character of worldly existence where people struggled against corruption demanded that any place to be used for worship first be purified and then fortified against ever-pressing forces of evil. This belief, coupled with a social need for religion to manifest itself externally as well as internally, carved an exterior facade for a religion of the soul.

CORPOREAL IMAGERY IN THE MAKING OF SACRED PLACES

Consecration, a rite of passage for a structure to move from building to church, consisted of three main phases.[41] The first was the separation of the building from its physical surroundings; this was done by the bishop, clergy, and people circumambulating the edifice.[42] Purification of the building and its altar of all impurity was the aim of the second stage. The first two phases divided and conquered space. Evil spirits inside the building were at first

separated from their environs by the circumambulations; once divided, aspersions with hyssop and water that had been exorcised, blessed, and mixed with blessed salt were used to drive the malefactors away. The doors were thrown open and the victorious bishop and clergy entered the church; together the men purified the interior of the building.

The final phase of consecration focused on the protection and fortification of the newly cleansed place. The church's relics were then brought in from a nearby pavillion under which they had been the objects of a vigil the night before. The interment of the remains of holy bodies (or objects that had come into contact with them) gave churches a sacred charge and differentiated the place within from the place without. The bishop then anointed the exterior of the altar and the interior of the church's walls with crosses. He completed the rite by saying a mass, which culminated in making and consuming the body of Christ.

In *The Golden Legend* Jacobus of Voragine offers five reasons for the consecration of churches, the first of which is to expel the devil:

> There are five reasons or purposes for the consecration of the church building… . The first is to drive out the devil and his power. In one of his Dialogues Gregory relates that when a certain church, which had belonged to the Arians and had been taken back by the faithful, was consecrated and the relics of Saint Sebastian and Saint Agatha were brought into it, the people gathered there felt a pig running around their feet and heading toward the door; but no one could see the pig, and all were filled with wonder. By this the Lord showed, as was clear to all, that an unclean occupant was leaving the place.[43]

When writing specifically about the rite's interior and exterior aspersions of water, Jacobus offers further insight into his perception of the exorcism of place:

> The church is sprinkled inside and out with blessed water for three purposes. The first is to drive out the devil, for the blessed water has the particular power to do this. Hence in the rite of exorcism of water are the words: 'Water, be exorcised in order to dispel all the power of the Enemy and to exterminate the devil with his apostate angels….' The second purpose is to purify the church itself. All these earthly substances have been corrupted and defiled by sin, and therefore the place itself is sprinkled with the blessed water so that it may be freed, purged, and cleansed of all foulness and uncleanness…. The blessed water is used, thirdly, to remove every malediction. From the beginning earth was accursed with its fruit because its fruit was the means by which man was deceived, but water was not subjected to any malediction…. Therefore, in order to remove all malediction and to

> bring down God's blessing, the church is asperged with blessed water.[44]

Hugh of St. Victor refers to the water used in the rite as "washing away the stains of sin."[45] Durandus' *Rationale* also contains a statement of the evil inherent in non-consecrated buildings:

> And it should be observed that consecration…appropriates the material church to God…in consecration it is endowed and becomes the proper spouse of Christ, which it is a sacrilege to violate adulterously for it ceases to be a place of demons….[46]

By expelling evil from a place, consecration created a break in the contentious landscape of the medieval world. At the same time it anthropomorphized the church building. The rite transformed the stone structure from building to bride. To violate it, therefore, was to commit sacrilege against Christ's chosen.

Although not originally necessary for consecration, the importance of relics to the rite increased during the early Middle Ages.[47] The division of holy bodies and the use of figurative relics enabled people of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to create a hierarchy of place *and* maintain the importance of the body as the location of sanctity. In other words, the use of consecration of the church building as an analogy for the sacrament of baptism enabled the Church simultaneously to address the message of the New Testament while maintaining the hierarchy of people and place that was necessary to the survival of the institution. Jacobus of Voragine expresses a belief in the church's two bodies when he writes "a church or temple is not only a material thing but a spiritual one…"[48] Hugh of St. Victor combines the two loci of Christian worship, using a construction metaphor to illustrate that the bodies of individual Christians as well as the collective body of Christians are temples:

> For the faithful soul is the true temple of God by the covenant of virtues which is built, as it were, by a kind of structure of spiritual stones, where faith makes the foundation, hope raises the building, charity imposes the finish. But the Church herself also, brought together as one from the multitude of the faithful, is the house of God constructed of living stones, where Christ has been placed as the cornerstone, joining the two walls of the Jews and the gentiles in one faith.[49]

Rudolph the eleventh-century abbot of St. Trond included a strong statement of architectural symbolism in his *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*. Although Victor Mortet, who edited the *Gesta*, is unaware of any literal comparisons between the church and the human body made by a church father, Rudolph

writes that the doctors of the church did make such a connection, which continued in the eleventh century:

> For it held and up to this time is considered to hold that the chancel and sanctuary [symbolize] the head and neck, the choir stalls [symbolize] the breasts, the transept extending toward both sides of the choir with two or more sleeves [symbolize] the arms and hands, the nave of the monastery [symbolizes] the womb, and the interior transept expanding, just like the two others, toward the south and the north [symbolize] the hips and the legs….[50]

The equation of temple=body permitted twelfth- and thirteenth-century people to reconcile the communal spirit of the New Testament with the need for structure in an aspiring universal church.[51]

Ivo of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, Jacobus of Voragine, and William Durandus all draw parallels between baptism and consecration. Ivo's *Sermo IV*, however, is an especially developed expression of the idea.[52] Ivo begins by telling his audience who have gathered for a consecration:

> Since you have gathered devotedly today for the dedication of this church, it is proper that what you see made in these holy man-made things you understand to be complete in you.[53]

There are three basic steps to the baptism of people and buildings. The first is the process of differentiating between what the person or building is and what it will become. So people about to be baptized are separated from their former selves:

> First you had been brought to the church by the hands of your godparents and then offered to priests or exorcists for teaching; the priests while they taught and initiated you into the laws of Christ, cut you off from a former group that is corrupt with duplicity.[54]

In a similar fashion the stones that will become part of a church building are cut off from their original landscape:

> First the stones, which have been collected for the construction of this building, either have been cut from the mountains, or dug up from subterranean depths, or collected from the fields.[55]

Now separated from its former self the person or building about to be baptized is then purified. For the catechumen profession of faith and aspersion with water are the cleansing acts:

> the profession of faith itself and the renunciation of perverse habits, which are expelled from you, create in you a new interior in which you carry the image of Christ in heaven, renewed through grace, as you had before carried the image of your earthly parents, from whom you were born through nature. Instructed in these teachings, you have come to water and you have been cleansed in the fountain of health….[56]

For the consecration of the church-to-be an aspersion similar to that of baptism is used. Ivo suggests that even if baptism fails in its intention of three immersions, the church should be aspersed three times in so far as possible.[57]

The final major step in the passage of non-consecrated to consecrated is the strengthening of the newly purified person or place which has been given over to God. The forces that have been expelled must now be kept at bay. This is done by anointing:

> Then you had been anointed with the holy oil on the head so that charity, which is given through the Holy Spirit, always abounds in the heart according to that word of wisdom: 'May the oil from your head never be lacking.' (Eccles. 9:8) Whenceforth the Apostle: 'The charity of God has been diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, which has been given to us.' (Rom. 5:5) This charity in the body of Christ does not prefer a native to a foreigner, nor the noble to the ignoble, nor men to women, but makes all sons through acceptance of the spirit…. Receive the holy oil on the breast, so that wisdom thrives in your heart. And receive it on your right arm so that in the exercises of good works patience is served without fail….[58]

Anointing also secures the church fabric and, just as in baptism, facilitates reception of the Holy Spirit:

> the holy church…is then marked by anointing through the bishop's hand so that the advent of the Holy Spirit should be gained in it. For the oil signifies the grace of the Holy Spirit [Rom. 5:5] in which charity is poured out in the hearts of the elect for loving God and your neighbor.[59]

The materials used for the building of churches were not to be used for any other purpose. The act of consecration made them sacred in perpetuity and the only other use to which they could be put was for the building or repair of another church.[60] The point of entry for spiritual gifts into the building are the glass windows which "expel the wind and the rain…while transmitting the light of God, the true sun, into the church, the hearts of the faithful…."[61] Durandus maintained that there is a direct connection between the windows of the building and the senses of the body and that both should be closed to the vanities of the world.[62]

Jacobus' argument differs somewhat from Ivo's explanation. Jacobus suggests other reasons for the anointing of the church walls; the crosses serve in three ways: they are safety barriers, signs of God's victory over evil, and representations of apostolic faith and love:

> crosses are painted on the church walls for three purposes. The first is to frighten the demons, who, having been driven out of the building, see the sign of the cross and are terrified by it, so that they do not dare enter there again. Chrysostom says of this: 'Wherever the demons have seen the Lord's sign they take flight, fearing the stick that gave them such a beating.' The second purpose is to show forth Christ's triumph, for crosses are his banners and the signs of his victory; so, to make it known that the place is subjugated to Christ's lordship, crosses are painted there. Imperial magnificence is manifested in this way: when a city surrenders, the imperial banner is raised in it. We find a figure of this practice in Genesis 28:18, where we read that Jacob raised the stone that he had laid under his head and set it up for a title, i.e., as a monument of proclamation, of memorial, and of triumph. Thirdly, these crosses represent the apostles, who brought light to the whole world through faith in Christ crucified. Therefore these crosses are illumined and anointed with chrism, because the apostles, spreading faith in Christ's passion, enlightened the whole earth with knowledge, inflamed it with love, and anointed it with cleanness of conscience, which the oil denotes, and with the odor of right living, denoted by the balsam.[63]

Conquered by Christ, the new church is a microcosm of a world lighted by the faith and teaching of the apostles.

Using the baptism/consecration analogy, a decree in Gratian's *Decretum* states that just as an infant is once baptized, so should be a place dedicated to God; a baptized building was not to be reconsecrated unless it had been polluted by bloodshed or semen or consumed by fire.[64] To what extent, though, must a building have been consumed to lose its consecration? John Theophilus Gulczynski notes that:

> With the promulgation of the Decretals of Gregory IX, in 1234, the legislation concerning the desecration of churches underwent a great change. Prior to this time a church lost its consecration by the destruction of the church, the removal or destruction of the altar, the shedding of human blood, the crime of homicide and the inherently sinful effusio seminis. During the period now under discussion the desecration of a church resulted simply from its total destruction, from the destruction of the major part of its walls and from its conversion to profane uses.[65]

Here the baptism/consecration analogy does not hold since a building can be reconsecrated but a person can never be rebaptized. Although Hugh of St. Victor does not mention it specifically, he hints that the possibility of rebaptism could resurrect Donatism; he reminds his audience that baptism is given by God and is not affected by the spiritual worth of the celebrating official.[66] Another possible explanation for the difference is that baptism makes an indelible mark on a soul. Consecration, on the other hand, rests in stone walls that succumb to time and nature. Unlike church walls, the soul will never lose its consecration.

The main purpose of medieval sacred place was to facilitate communication with God. Although people believed in the efficacy of spontaneous personal prayer in non-consecrated places, they felt that the chances of having their prayers answered were increased when they prayed to God in a place especially set aside for such a purpose. In order to create a place for prayer, they circumscribed it, cleansed it of the corruption inherent in all material things, and then filled it with sacredness through the deposition of relics and the saying of mass.[67] During the rite of consecration the saints, allies in the struggle against evil, were invited to take up residence in a new home where they could be supplicated.

The need for the establishment of sacred places was encouraged by a belief in the evil inherent in the physical world. Yet the building of churches was also fostered by the necessity of having structure in a religion that had aspirations of universality. St. Paul's desire to take Jesus' teachings to non-Jews in order to create a catholic church demanded hierarchy and organization of people and places.

The conflict of Christ's message of equality with the human creation of hierarchy was addressed by the medieval hierarchy itself. Borrowing from Pauline imagery, learned clerics gathered up the opposing forces of hierarchy and equality in an analogy that likened the baptism of Christians to the consecration of church buildings. The relation between the two was further emphasized because they helped make each other. During the rite of consecration Christians petitioned God to make a building a church. Similarly, the church building hosted the making of new Christians during the sacrament of baptism. Although they represented separate focuses for worship, churches and human bodies nurtured and sustained each other; they were the two exteriors of Christian sacred place.

THE GRADATIONS OF MEDIEVAL SACRED PLACE

According to Durandus there are two kinds of consecrated places: those that accommodate people's necessities (e.g., hospices, houses for pilgrims, orphanages) and those devoted to prayer; in addition, there are three levels of places of prayer: sacred, holy, and religious.[68] Sacred places are those that have been sanctified and set apart for God, including any consecrated church.

Holy places are those that possess immunity or privilege; buildings reserved for churches' servants and ministers (churchyards, cloisters, and canons' houses) fall into this category. Both sacred and holy places offer sanctuary to fugitives.[69] The final category of prayer space is religious; it is the ground in which Christian bodies are interred, or even just the head of a Christian is buried.[70] The relationship between the three categories is such that whatever belongs to a higher category contains the characteristics of the lower categories as well; the contrary is not true.[71] Durkheim argues that grades of sacredness existed because higher levels of sacrality repel lower levels since, compared to the first, the second levels are profane.[72] Medieval liturgical and theological materials bear out Durkheim's observation.

The three levels of sacredness found in consecrated places of prayer are echoed in the three levels of sacrality within the church building itself. Writers emphasize that the sanctuary is more sacred than the chancel and that the chancel is more sacred than the nave. The notable exception is Pierre Roissy, chancellor of Chartres 1205–1211, who believed that the church had two principal sections, chancel and nave.[73] Yves Delaporte argues that Roissy used a bipartite model because he had been thinking about a Romanesque and not a Gothic church when he wrote his *Manuale*.[74]

The gradations of sacredness have a biblical foundation (I Kings 8:6–8).[75] Hugh of St. Victor speaks of the two curtains that divide the laity from the cler gy and the clergy from the Holy of Holies.[76] So does Jacobus of Voragine:

> The three states [of those in the Church who will be saved] are… signified in the arrangement of the church building, as Richard of St. Victor demonstrates; for the sanctuary denotes the order of the virgins, the choir the order of the continent, and the body of the church the order of the married. The sanctuary is narrower than the choir and the choir narrower than the body of the church, because the virgins are fewer in number than the continent, and these than the married. In like manner the sanctuary is holier than the choir, and the choir than the body of the church.[77]

Durandus repeats the model:

> According to Richard of St. Victor, the disposition of a church signifies the three states who will be saved in the Church: the sanctuary signifies the order of virgins, the choir the continent, the nave [corpus] the married. The sanctuary is narrower than the choir and the choir than the nave [corpus] because virgins are fewer than the continent and these are fewer than the married; also the place of the sanctuary is more sacred than the choir, and the choir than the nave [corpus], because the order of virgins is more worthy than the continent, and they than the married.[78]

Among the saved there existed a spiritual hierarchy based on the sexual use of the body. The stratification was reflected in the arrangement of the three principal parts of the church building as well as in Durandus' use of *corpus* for nave.

The division of the clergy and laity that was sometimes represented by the curtains hanging in churches was reinforced by more permanent boundaries with the erection of screens between the nave and chancel. Although rood screens didn't become widespread in French churches until the thirteenth century, galleries and curtains were often used in earlier centuries to mark the boundary.[79] For example, the necrology of Chartres Cathedral records that Ivo built a screen around 1100.[80] Aftert he fire of 1194, a new screen was constructed in the 1230s or 1240s.[81]

The separation of the choir from the sanctuary was made by an altar rail which acknowledged that although the clergy were consecrated, they were still of this world. Durandus' interpretation of this division was that the rails signified the division of sky and earth.[82] The division of the choir from the nave could be quite pronounced. In an article on the social history of medieval English cathedrals Paul Stollard points out that a degree of liturgical uniformity was achieved in England by the mid-thirteenth century and that under the influence of the liturgy of the Use of Sarum a number of medieval English cathedrals built in that period received a second transept. The result was that the clergy received their own cruciform church and the western nave was left to the laity.[83] Roberta Gilchrist has noted a tendency for many English monastic churches to allow lay people to use naves (or certain parts of them) as parish churches.[84] In the central Middle Ages naves were ambiguous spaces which hosted a variety of liturgical and non-liturgical activities (see chapter three).

Some modern scholars have even argued that the nave was a superfluous part of the church building, which really only needed to encompass the chancel and sanctuary.[85] One twentieth-century scholar even suggests that the nave was appended to churches for the convenience of the lay congregation.[86] Durandus defines the church as having two parts, one spiritual, which includes all the faithful, the other material where the offices are celebrated.[87] His equation of the nave (or as Durandus sometimes refers to it *corpus*) with the place of the married further suggests that it was the less sacred part of the church that was left to those people who used their bodies sexually.[88] It is appropriate, therefore, that those clergy who acted like married people were excluded from the sanctuary and choir and directed toward the nave. For example, the Council of Troyes of 1107 declared that priests and deacons who had wives or concubines were excluded from the altar and choir. The following year Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, assembled a synod that prohibited priests, deacons, and subdeacons from keeping women. Those who refused were to be separated from their sacred functions, removed from their benefices, and excluded from the choir.[89]

Although the parts of a church were separate and spiritually unequal, together they functioned as a corporate body. This was true of not only the area inside the fabric but also outside. All areas were linked by their contiguity. In his discussion of the reconciliation of cemeteries Durandus offers his view of the relationship between the church building and its contiguous area, which he sees as interrelated:

> Nevertheless it should be noted that in whatever part of the church or cemetery violence or pollution is committed, both and even certain parts of them are considered violated on account of their contiguity. For although consecrations of the church, altar and cemetery are independent, nevertheless each individual immunity is of all and should not be restricted to any one of them or to an individual part of either. That is true if the church and cemetery are conjoined. However, if one is far from the other, one can be violated without the other.[90]

The right of sanctuary offers an opportunity to observe the workings of the church and its environs. Sanctuary (also known as asylum) was the protection granted to an accused person if s/he managed to come into contact with a church or its surroundings.[91] It was legal acknowledgment of the specialness of sacred places. As Larry Joseph Kirby points out, the privilege resides principally in the building itself.[92] Yet the privilege extended beyond the church building. In the eleventh century Pope Nicholas II (r. 1059–1061) declared that "a major church may have sixty paces around it, chapels or minor churches thirty…."[93] Despite the papal pronouncement the issue was not clear-cut since this artificial designation did not always contain all of a church's outbuildings. The question arose whether the auxiliary buildings outside the protective boundaries also offered sanctuary. By the late thirteenth century at least one man, Guido of Baysio, Archdeacon of Bologna and commentator on Gratian's *Decretum,* argued that churches could extend their privilege if they had more space than fell outside the prescribed boundaries. In these cases the cemetery would serve as the boundary since church and cemetery enjoy the same privilege.[94]

The privilege of many cemeteries encouraged people to use them in creative ways (see chapter 3), and the manner of a body's burial could reveal information about the person's character. For example, the *Miracles* contains a story about a canon of Chartres who lives a terrible life filled with sin and vice. When he is killed by his enemies, the other canons assume that he died a dishonorable death and bury him accordingly. They place the canon's body in the corner of the cemetery without a coffin, tombstone, or even proper amount of soil.[95] They did not know, however, that the canon had privately repented of his sins before death. After thirty days Mary appears to the dean of the church in a dream and reprimands him for the treatment of her canon's body. The following morning the dean and the other dignitaries of the church

return to the cemetery to give the canon a proper burial. They find the body intact and sweet-smelling; in the mouth are brilliant flowers which signify the praise he had given the Virgin.[96] The officials then take the body from the corner of the cemetery and place it in a reserved enclosure.

Guibert of Nogent also suggests that a shallow burial indicates that the buried person was not respected. The body of Gaudry, a corrupt bishop of Laon who was murdered during an uprising of the city's commune, was placed in a grave that was "only half dug to receive his body…."[97] Partial or total disappearance of a buried corpse could also suggest divine disapproval of the burial of a bad person in sacred ground.[98] Beyond the spiritual significance of such burials, shallow graves also exposed bodies to animals. The thought of corpses being dismembered by animals was very disturbing to medieval Christians. Many twelfth-century and a number of thirteenth-century people believed reassemblage of the human body was necessary for resurrection.[99]

Although sanctuary could be a secular legal arrangement, it does appear that the privilege was earned at least in some cases by the sacredness of the church itself. King William the Conqueror of England declared that Battle Abbey would have a one league radius of sanctuary privilege around it; in other words, the force of secular law extended the boundaries for the abbey.[100] Yet Guido of Baysio later concluded that if bishops or canons lived beyond the area designated by canon law, their houses would not enjoy the privilege unless they had chapels.[101] Durandus maintained that the clergy's houses, which he considered to be holy, would possess the right of sanctuary; it is not clear if he assumed that these auxiliary buildings would fall within the specified area.[102]

The accounts of the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his cathedral on December 29, 1170, offer insight into the working of medieval sacred place. Once a friend of King Henry II of England, Becket later became his enemy when king and archbishop clashed in a contest over the competing rights of monarch and church. The struggle became so bitter that one dark winter afternoon in 1170 four of the king's knights murdered the archbishop as he made his way to vespers. The threefold violation of sacred person, place, and time stunned people, including the five eyewitnesses to the murder who left written accounts of the event. Although Thomas' murder—or martyrdom, as some saw it—will be examined closely in the fourth chapter, it is appropriate to discuss part of the evidence here because it reveals the subtle differences of opinion people had toward church space in the central Middle Ages.

Garnier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence is a particularly good source for laying bare attitudes toward medieval sacred place.[103] Garnier, a twelfth-century French clerk, records that the archbishop wanted to remain in his chamber because "he thought that they [Henry II's knights] would not dare to attack Becket in the church, and therefore stayed where he was, not wanting to

avoid death."[104] But Edward Grim, an English clerk and master who was wounded during the attack, modifies this view of the chamber as holy space and builds the suspense before the archbishop's murder in the church proper by referring to the chamber as "a place of less reverence."[105] Grim writes that the monks persuaded Thomas to go to the church because "reverence for the sanctity of the sacred building might deter even the impious from their purpose…."[106] Garnier, however, nuances this, saying that the monks who accompanied Becket during his last minutes also believed that the knights would respect the church particularly because of what it contained: "[the monks] compelled him to go as far as the northern staircase, trying to get him to the protection of the holy relics."[107] Although Becket did not claim sanctuary, Garnier believes that the holiness of the relics (not the church) would be enough to deter the knights from killing him. A church building could offer sanctuary, but the real location of the privilege rested with the relics, the remains of saints' bodies. Garnier writes "neither church nor altar nor season [would] protect him," which suggests that there were two sources of the privilege in the building.[108] Although both church and altar were consecrated by bishops' hands, the altar had the added distinction of containing the residual temporal presence of an intercessor. The knights, on the other hand, acknowledged the privilege of the place, but when it became clear that Thomas would not be removed from the church, they killed him there, "As [the knights] could not get the saint out of the church, [William de Tracy] struck him hard…."[109] Despite their awareness of the place, Henry's men did their murderous act within the cathedral; the knights were not only guilty of violating a sacred place, they violated a sacred person and a sacred season as well. In Garniers account, Edward Grim expresses this threefold sacrilege: "'What do you think you are doing?' he cried. 'Are you out of your minds? Think where you are, what season it is. Think of your sin, in raising your hand against your archbishop!' But they did not check, for the sake of the holy season or of the church."[110]

The source and violation of the privilege is a complicated issue. Norman Trenholme argues that by the Angevin period sanctuary had become a national institution and makes a distinction between chartered sanctuaries and the sanctuary provided by holy or consecrated places. I say holy or consecrated because Durandus maintains that an unconsecrated church also possessed the privilege, so long as offices were celebrated inside.[111] At least to some extent the violation of the right of sanctuary was the violation of a holy place.[112] The two sources did not have to be mutually exclusive:

> As a rule the sanctuary jurisdiction of these specially privileged places was more extensive and their procedure more formal than in the case of the ordinary church or chapel. At Ripon, at Beverly, and at Hexham the sanctuary limits extended at least a mile on every side of the sacred edifice. The boundaries of the church frith were marked in most cases

> by stone crosses erected by the side of the highways leading into town…. Gradations of fine, increasing with the proximity to the altar, were generally in force. At Beverly the distance from the outer limits to the altar was divided into seven sections, the penalty being made, in proportion, to increase from eight pounds for violation within the first limit up to one hundred and forty-four pounds for the sixth, while to violate the seventh of the divisions was to commit a botless or unremissible offense and entailed death on the offender. At Hexham a similar gradation of penalties was in force, and at both of these great sanctuaries the most sacred and holy refuge was the frith stol, or chair of peace. The frith stol probably existed in many of the English sanctuaries, for in name and use it was inseparably connected with the right to afford protection to fugitives…. Anyone who violated the sacred precincts of the altar committed an unpardonable offense, one for which no money could atone.[113]

The privilege embedded in some holy places, therefore, was extended by legal decree.[114]

SUMMARY

Medieval conceptions of the world were largely influenced by a belief in the sinfulness of man as well as by a conviction of salvific hope. Christian belief in the potentiality of the world blurred the more distinct division between sacred and profane that existed in Judaism. The New Testament message that the site of the temple had shifted from a physical building to the natural and mystical bodies of Christ and by extension to the body of all who believed in him further blurred this distinction. Yet although the new site of the temple was articulated in the Gospels and in St. Paul's letters, medieval people continued to build and maintain churches; indeed they often devoted substantial resources to erecting them. The Old and New Testaments' message that the world is a cursed place together with a belief in the active and ongoing struggle between good and evil in the world encouraged medieval Christians to purify places in order to make them suitable for worship.

Even if they had not felt a need to create refuges in a dangerous world, medieval Christians would have continued to build the temples of their parent religion. What is particularly fascinating is that in order for St. Paul's vision of a universal church to become a reality, the church itself had to become moneyed and hierarchical; it also had to differentiate people and places as it developed and transmitted a culture. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the architecture of many northwestern European sacred places emphasized and reinforced hierarchies of people and place. The heretics of Arras and the followers of Peter of Bruis, as well as the less radical

dissenters St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Chanter, were not the only people to recognize the tension created by the building of churches. The paradox of status in which the most exalted becomes the least exalted was an accessible model for a culture built on the belief that God became a carpenter from Nazareth. Pierre Roissy, chancellor of Chartres Cathedral from 1205–1211, says that:

> The chancel should be more humble because Christ with a lowered head sends out his spirit and signifies that the clergy should be more humble than the people. Whence: 'by how much you are better, humble yourself to all by that much.'[115]

Durandus echoes him:

> The chancel, the head of the church, lower than the remaining body, signifies how much humility should be in the clergy and prelates of the church: 'By how much you are better, humble yourself in all things.'[116]

Roissy and Durandus, therefore, offer a vertical model through which the clergy, set apart and exalted in their chancels, could become lowly in spirit and dwell among Christ's poor.

The subtlety of medieval conception of sacred place is further revealed by medieval arguments that all areas within the church were not equally sacred. Medieval authors make it clear that churches were not homogenous places. Some churches functioned as two buildings in one. Others functioned as one building but contained areas that were more reserved than others; the chancel was considered to be much more sacred than the nave or body of the church. Furthermore, spaces around places of prayer as places contiguous with sacred buildings contained varying degrees of sacred privilege. Like the holy bodies of the saints that anchored sacredness to churches, the buildings themselves radiated privilege within boundaries that were legally established. The grades of sacredness within and without the buildings reveal the heterogeneous character of medieval churches and their environs.

Chapter Two
History Incarnate
Human Bodies and Ideal Sacred Place in The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres

THE FIRST CHAPTER SUGGESTS THAT CHURCH BUILDINGS WERE NECESSARY to the organization of an aspiring universal church. This chapter, which focuses on Chartres Cathedral, examines how the local context of a church could distinguish a sacred place from numerous others. For Chartres the process of differentiation involved corporeal metaphors so that Chartres' history is inextricably intertwined with images of birth, flesh, and bodies. The cathedral's documents suggest that although Chartres (and many other medieval churches) may have been considered an image of the heavenly Jerusalem on earth, its power was founded on and mediated by worldly and human flesh.[1] Whereas the first chapter demonstrated how the body was integral to the *establishment* of medieval sacred place, this chapter will show how it could be central to its *function*. Chartres offers poignant examples of how the body could differentiate and elevate sacred place in the central Middle Ages.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE MIRACLES OF OUR LADY OF CHARTRES

A collection of thirteenth-century miracle stories, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres,* provides evidence of the body metaphor that distinguished the cathedral.[2] The *Miracles* survives in two versions. Although it is not possible to pinpoint exactly the date of the anonymous Latin version, it is fairly certain that it was written sometime between 1206 and 1225.[3] The collection, therefore, was probably recorded during the construction of the present cathedral (which began around 1194).[4] The *Miracles'* author may have been a cleric who lived at Chartres around 1197, identified in an unverifiable sixteenth-century reference as a priest named Gilon.[5] The Old French version is Jean Le Marchant's octo syllabic verse translation of the Latin *Miracles* and was composed around 1260. Le Marchant, who was a canon from the Picard town of Péronne, translated them sometime between 1252 and 1262 at the request of Chartres' bishop, Matthieu Des Champs.[6]

The history of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Chartres is particularly important to understanding the *Miracles*. In the central Middle Ages Chartres

was an important town in its own right whose close proximity to Paris did not compromise its prestige.[7] In fact, as the see for a royal diocese Chartres even hosted a number of meetings convened by the king.[8] According to epic literature twelfth-century Chartres was considered by some to be equal to Paris as a royal residence.[9] Indeed, Chartres was lucky. It was the largest diocese in France, it had the kings' favor, it was blessed with fertile wheat fields, it boasted an important school, and its cathedral claimed numerous relics, one of which was especially powerful.[10] The *Miracles* suggests that in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cathedral's clergy actively worked to promote their church by enhancing it.

Although Chartres was the largest diocese in France, its population was small and scattered.[11] According to Philippe Wolff, in the thirteenth century there were less than 7,000 people living in the town and its suburbs.[12] Other cathedral towns had much larger populations at this time. Reims had an estimated population of 10,000, Arras 20,000, Rouen 30,000, and Paris 40, 000.[13] Given Chartres' relatively sparse population and its agrarian-based economy, it is likely that the clergy who led the rebuilding campaign had to look beyond the local population for workers.

Chédeville's economic study of the diocese indicates that Chartres' economy experienced a number of changes in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. He posits that the eleventh century was a time of change for Chartres.[14] The second half of the tenth century ushered in two major regional shifts: people began to reclaim land, and the demesne system gave way to independent exploitation which accommodated payments in cash as well as in kind.[15] The cultivation of wheat and grapes in the region helped make the twelfth century a time of improvement and relative prosperity, which was further enhanced by the generalized increase in the circulation of money, growing urbanization, and some textile production.[16]

The period of promise reached its peak around 1200, the early years of the building program of the cathedral. Chartres' administration and taxation system were maturing, and a monetary economy was developing. Just two decades later, however, the economy stagnated; the promise of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was not fulfilled. This was largely because the town was outside of the major trading routes. Therefore, it did not benefit from the commerce and industry developing in the thirteenth century. Chartres was located between two industries but could participate in neither; it was located too far to the north to participate in the wine trade and too far south to fully engage the growing textile industry.[17] Adding to the difficulty was that although Chartres was located near two rivers, the Eure and the Loir, neither was navigable in the Middle Ages.[18] Chartres was blessed with agricultural productivity, but that was all. As other towns in France expanded during the urbanization and commercialization of the thirteenth-century, Chartres lagged behind. Chartres' clergy, therefore, was probably challenged to raise the money needed to pay laborers. The *Miracles*

may have been created to generate the cash the clergy needed to pay the men who built the cathedral.[19]

Further complicating life at Chartres were the social tensions revealed in the cathedral's thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents which suggest that these years were riddled with conflict.[20] Williams notes the tension within the chapter, between chapter and bishop, and between secular and religious authorities.[21] The issue that most often had the secular and religious authorities at loggerheads was the immunity of the cloister.[22] By encouraging their servants to live within the boundaries of the cloister, the clergy manipulated the privilege of the place to obtain tax and legal exemptions for its help. This practice thwarted the ruling count or countess since s/he could no longer collect taxes from or have legal jurisdiction over these servants.[23] Williams posits that the bishop and canons used the services of their servants, who were often tradesmen, for "goods and services that they would otherwise have had to purchase at a higher price from tradesmen in the count's sector of town."[24] The animosity between the bishop and chapter on the one hand and chapter and comital authority on the other continued to build. In October of 1210 a riot of townspeople occurred in the cloister, the not-quite-sacred but not-quite-profane place under the jurisdiction of the chapter. On a Sunday afternoon a crowd attacked the dean, his household, and his home because one of the dean's servants had insulted a servant of the countess in the cloister. Although the marshal and provost were asked by the chapter to keep the peace, they instead incited a riot that continued well into the night.[25] The clergy excommunicated the guilty and placed the town under an interdict. Both sentences were cancelled when Philip Augustus intervened.

Philip's negotiation of a substantial financial settlement in favor of the chapter, however, did not settle the matter permanently. In 1215 the count's provost captured, tortured, and hanged one of the clergy's servants over the issue of immunity from taxation.[26] An episcopal court fined the provost and ordered that he, along with the count's marshal and castellan, replace the servant with one from the count's household. Thirty-eight years later another crisis surfaced over the jurisdiction of a street near the cloister. The dispute turned violent and the count's officers murdered two of the chapter's servants. The church's cantor, Renaud de l'Épine, was to arbitrate the dispute, but before the matter was settled he was murdered on the steps of the cathedral. The assault punished his intransigent treatment of the count's officers.[27] This sent the fearful bishop and chapter into a self-imposed exile for five years.[28] The clergy returned only when they had made arrangements for their future safety. From the count the chapter purchased the right to close the cloister and obtained permission from the pope to hold matins at five in the morning, a time of the day that would be considerably brighter (and presumably safer) than midnight.[29]

The hostility and violence between count and chapter may have literally shaped the cathedral. Jan van der Meulen has discussed a series of passageways inside and outside the building (it should be noted that such bridges were common in cathedral complexes).[30] Drawing on van der Meulen's study, Williams writes in a section subtitled "The Defensive Constructions" that:

> Bridges are known to have connected the bishop's palace, the chapter's meetinghouse, and the chapter's library with the discontinuous 'dwarfs' galleries' at the east end of the church. From these raised outer passages, one could reach the interior floor of the church by way of stairs inside the eastern buttresses. Stone bridges still connect the northern flank of the choir to the sacristy, and the floor of the ambulatory with the Chapel of Saint Piat, formerly the chapter's meeting house. Van der Meulen also showed that originally a bridge connected the confessor's chapel to the chapter library, and it is especially suggestive that the chapter's meetinghouse and library were connected to the quarters of the commander of the bishop's troops.[31]

Williams acknowledges that the "existence and purpose" of other passageways are uncertain.[32] For example, east of the transept doors remain on the exterior of the third buttresses on either side of the choir (Pls. 1 and 2). How these doors were used is unknown. Van der Meulen posits that they could have offered the clergy discreet passage from the cathedral to ancillary buildings. John James, however, disagrees, since there is no evidence of wear on the thresholds or a sign that a bridge or any other structure had been attached to the stone.[33] Williams, however, cites the tensions between the secular and religious authorities as suggestive evidence that the canons built the network "partly for protection and defense."[34]

Therefore, contrary to earlier accounts of the building effort that suggest the cathedral's construction was a pious endeavor undertaken by many, more recent scholarship holds that it was financed primarily by the people who could best afford it, the clergy who exploited the fertile wheat growing territories outside of the town.[35] Although the offerings of pilgrims who came from a distance and the donations of princes helped finance the building program (and were more important to Chartres than to other famous cathedrals), in general they were of secondary importance.[36] Van der Meulen's observation that "besides the considerable funds assured only for the first three years by the bishop and chapter, and the royal donation of 200 pounds in 1210…only seven bequests for the work in general are recorded in the obituary notices datable before 1250" supports this view.[37]

The fire of 1194 that devastated the cathedral and part of the town must have complicated relations at Chartres. Chédeville notes that it is impossible to say for certain that the cloister riot of 1210 was a result of a heavy tax

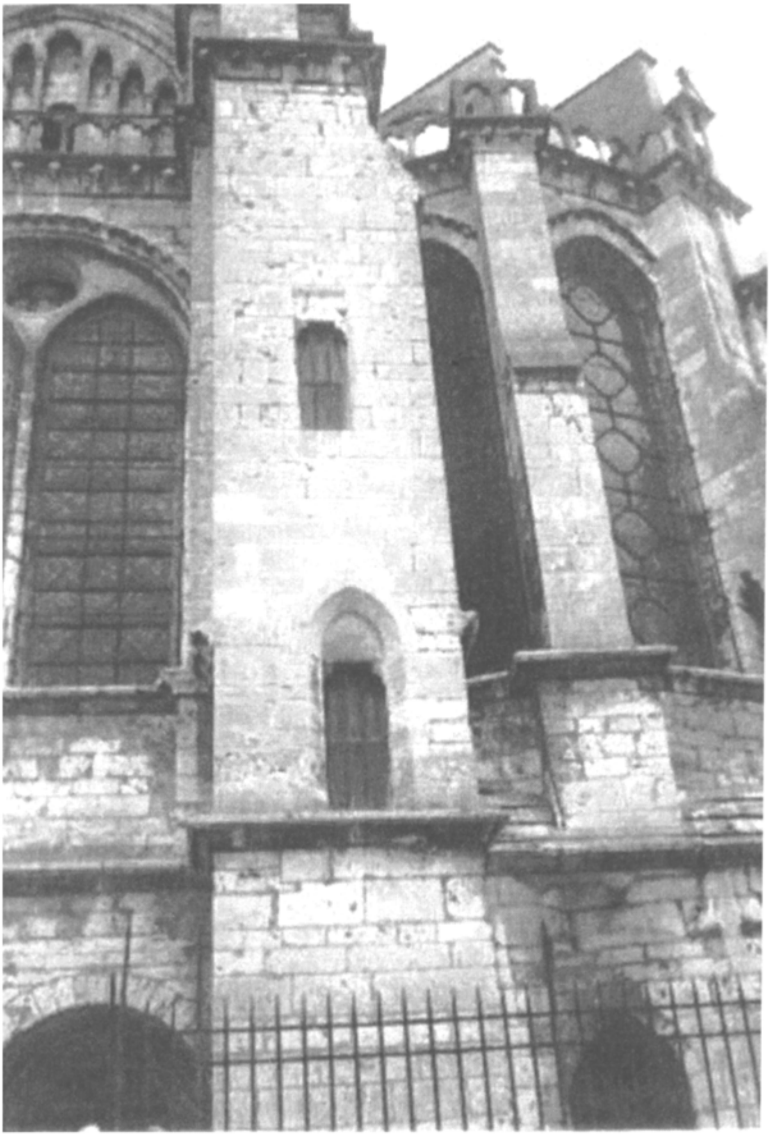


Plate 1. Chartres Cathedral: Doors Located on the Third Buttress of the Choir's North Flank.

burden placed on the townspeople (although his research suggests that it was difficult for the town to finance the cathedral whose construction cost more than it returned).[38] The clergy had a dilemma because the competitive climate of the age demanded that they replace the church with a grand (and expensive) structure.[39] The early Gothic style was already well underway: St.

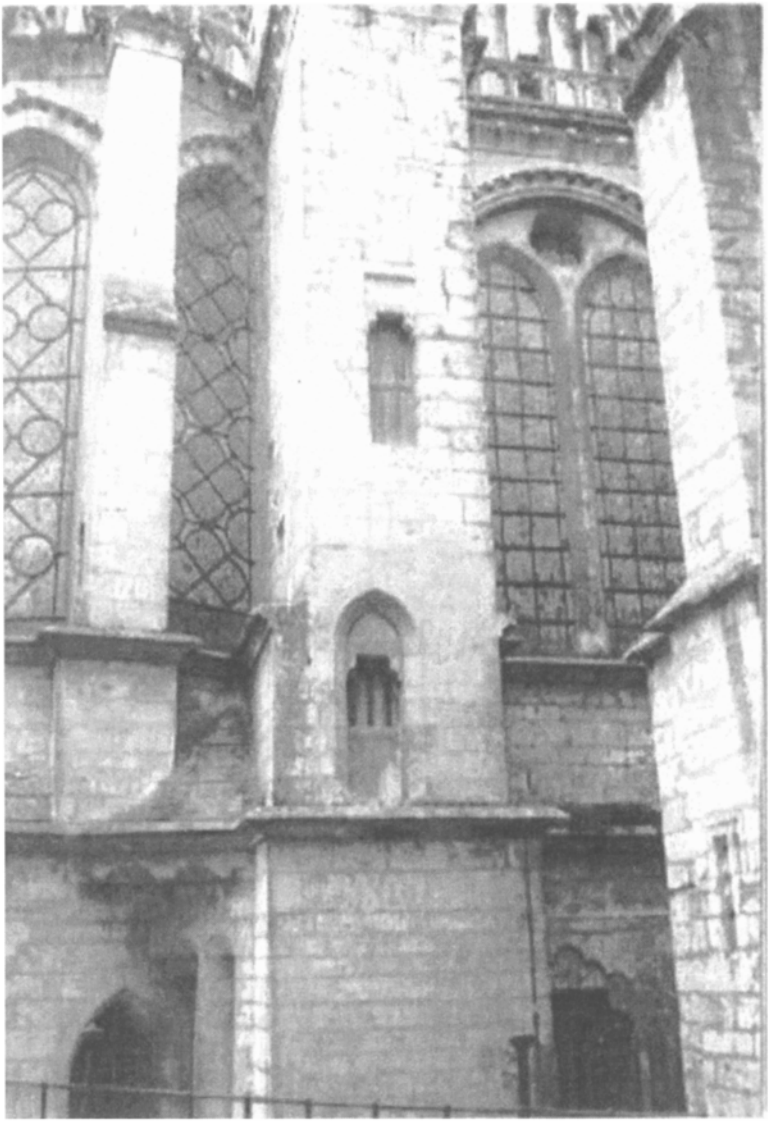


Plate 2. Chartres Cathedral: Doors Located on the Third Buttress of the Choir's South Flank.

Denis was 54 years old and Notre-Dame of Paris, which is about 60 miles to the northeast, had been completed in 1179.[40]

The *Miracles,* therefore, was an instrument carefully designed to offset social, economic, and geographic odds against the project.[41] In the prologue

to the Old French version, the audience is asked to listen to "what credit and what return [Mary] gives to those who give her a gift, honor, and service, thanks to which her church has been rebuilt."[42] The majority of the miracles occured within 100 kilometers of Chartres, which may suggest that the targeted audience lived near the town.[43] Williams argues persuasively that the *Miracles* were written to raise money for artists' and artisans' fees.[44] The language and form of each version indicate the authors' intentions. Whereas the original Latin prose version was aimed at the learned and meant to be read, it is likely that the Old French version was meant to be performed in front of a non-clerical audiehce.[45] Thus the Latin version of the *Miracles* may have been intended to tap the resources of the surrounding clergy, while later, once the cathedral was completed, a vernacular translation may have been needed to expand the cult. It should be kept in mind that the collection addresses the concerns of the poor, nobility, and clergy alike, which is apparent in the dual language texts.

The collection was extremely important to Chartres' clergy because it advertised the power of the cathedral's most important relic.[46] If the *Miracles* did its job well, it could generate gifts and income for the community as pilgrims to the relic made offerings for the salvation of their souls and the souls of their loved ones.[47] Donations were inspired by the belief that saints could be persuaded by material gifts to intercede for the donor in this life as well as in the next. Also, relics could be taken on fundraising tours. Miracle twenty-three records that a young Englishman encountered the cathedral's relics in Soissons while Chartres' clergy was attempting to raise money to rebuild.[48] These offerings could be a significant source of income for religious communities and could even cover losses sustained in other economic sectors:

> These offerings, made at the great pilgrimage sites, whether by the local faithful or by pilgrims from across Europe, were vital for the communities that received them in the saint's name. Economic productivity was abysmally low during the central Middle Ages, even on monastic estates. Incomes necessary to support a prosperous community were frequently uncertain and monasteries, like their secular neighbors, were often in debt. Thus extra income from offerings to saints was hardly extra, and formed rather a vital source of revenue. This was particularly true at a time when large amounts of capital were needed for improvements such as renovation or reconstruction.[49]

The bodies of the holy dead could generate resources to build, renovate, and reconstruct church buildings.

Despite the wealth of its treasury, however, none of Chartres' relics launched the church into becoming a major pilgrimage center like Jerusalem, Rome, or Santiago de Compostela.[50] Although the church's treasury

contained many relics, including the *sancta camisia,* its geographic location prevented it from becoming one of the great pilgrimage sites of the medieval world. Chédeville notes that "the Chartrain had known the evolution of a countryside adequately endowed by nature but placed outside of the great trade routes."[51] The cathedral's clergy, therefore, had to work all the harder to get people to endow and visit a church that was off the beaten path.[52] Le Marchant makes a passionate sales pitch to his audience as he tries to convince them that Chartres is where Mary, Christianity's most important intercessor, can be found:

> Rightly then we ought to believe
> That on the earth she chose this place
> She proclaimed herself lady of Chartres,
> Since she has such a precious treasure there.
> Then I am able to confirm as true
> And to prove through right reason,
> That this is her principal home par excellence
> And her most pleasing residence,
> Since her precious tunic
> The lady has placed there in custody.[53]

The clergy's strategy was to market the cathedral as a place that, although not chosen by the currents of trading and industry, had been selected by the Virgin herself to be a location of supernatural commerce:

> The theme of the power of the Virgin as available to all, everywhere and always, expanded from the precise theological devotion of Anselm and St Bernard into the collections of general Mary miracles. But at the same time, the cult of the Virgin remained localized at a surprising number of shrines. John of Coutances urged that Our Lady of Coutances should not be confused with Our Lady of Bayeux. At Rocamadour, the Virgin was venerated as 'Our Lady of Rocamadour'. Thus, on one hand the popularization of the cult of the Virgin among the more simple people led to an acknowledgement of her ubiquitous powers, but on the other hand it domesticated her as the 'Lady' of a certain area, in a way similar to the localization of the older saints in their tombs.[54]

Like the clergy of other churches, the clergy of Chartres tried to harness the energy of the cult of the Virgin and localize it in their cathedral.

THE STRATEGY OF *THE MIRACLES OF OUR LADY OF CHARTRES*

The collection of the *Miracles* represented a portfolio for a clerical advertising campaign launched to convince people that Chartres was the winner of a highly competitive contest between pilgrimage sites in medieval western Europe.[55] The judge of the competition was the mother of God, who had chosen Chartres as her "most important church" and her "special domain, her principal room, and the residence where it pleases her most to remain…."[56] The *Miracles* at one and the same time focused attention on Chartres while participating in the universal nature of the Marian cults of western Europe.[57] Adolf Katzenellenbogen offers an interesting explanation for the change in chartrain liturgy that occurred after the fire of 1194. A thirteenth-century manuscript at Chartres' Bibliothèque municipale records that after the fire a commemoration of the Virgin was celebrated on the seventeenth of October in place of the feast of the church's dedication.[58] Katzenellenbogen believes that this was an attempt by the clergy to link more closely its church to the Virgin.[59] Could this change, then, have been part of the clergy's ad campaign?

The text of the *Miracles* is woven with two colors. The first enhances the relationship between son and mother, closely connecting Christ with Mary; the second links Mary to the physical space of the cathedral. Both colors combine to unite Chartres directly to God, since through the intercession of his mother Christ himself is readily accessible at the cathedral. Mary's title "Mediatrix," which was well established by the twelfth century, reflected belief in her role as the mother of Christ and in her power to influence her son.[60]

An ordinary piece of fabric with extraordinary provenance enabled Chartres to identify with the union of Christ and Mary; according to tradition, King Charles the Bald gave to Chartres in the ninth century the *sancta camisia,* which was considered to be the shirt worn by Mary during the Nativity (Pl. 3).[61] It was a very special relic because it was the only one that came into contact with Christ's *and* Mary's bodies. The beliefs that Christ's body was resurrected with his spirit and that Mary's was assumed into heaven meant that there would be few bodily remains of either the holy mother or divine son. Chartres' ultimate relic, therefore, was extraordinary because it had been charged by the holiest bodies in Christian history during the childbirth itself. As Miri Rubin has noted, the use of body-language is a rhetorical flourish that attempts to appropriate the very naturalness of the body itself so that whatever is joined to the body in metaphor and signified by it will be accepted without question.[62] The clergy of Chartres tapped the most natural symbol of all—the human body—and in so doing attempted to render—whether consciously or unconsciously—an artless and simple authority to their cathedral.

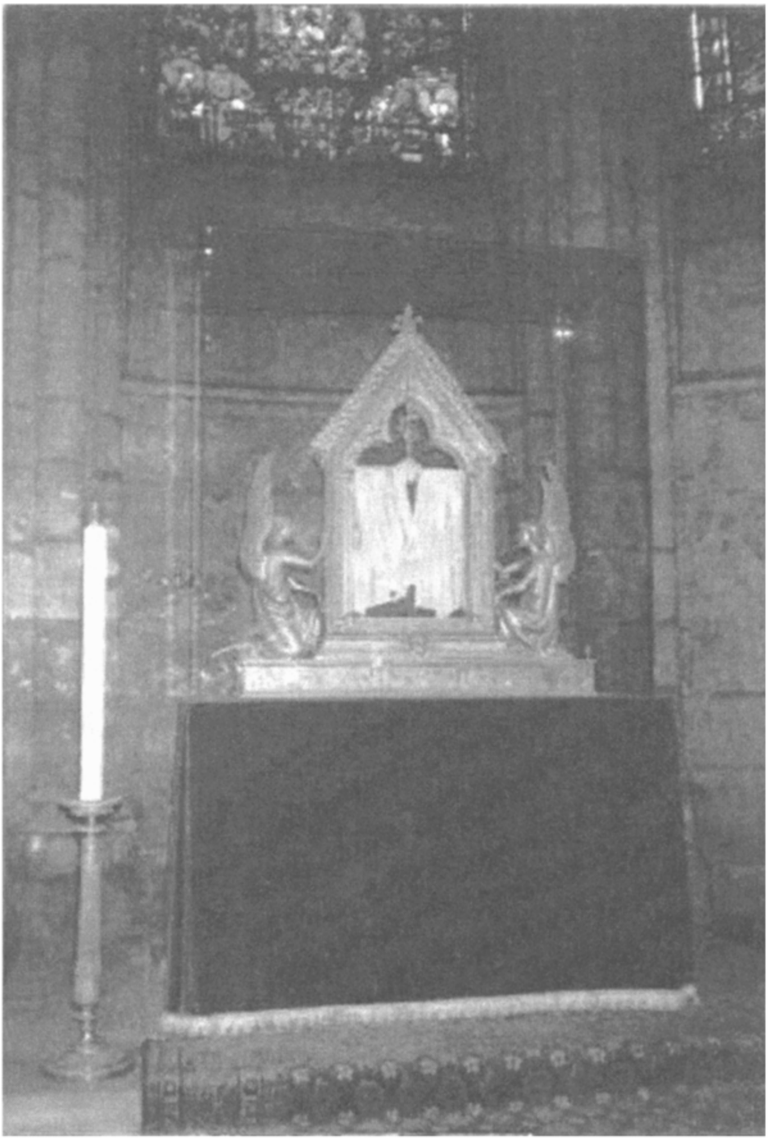


Plate 3. Chartres Cathedral: *Sancta Camisia*.

The lady had put on
This holy garment, that same one,
So high, so precious, so perfectly holy,

When she gave birth to the true son of God.
This is why I say that this holy tunic
Touched the child;
It is necessary that you believe this without hesitation,
Because the tunic, it seems to me,
Touched one and the other together.
It is then necessary to think
That this is the most high relic
That is able to be found in any place;
This is proved by the miracles.[63]

Ward hypothesizes that the *sancta camisia* may not have been known or may have only been popularized and displayed after 1112.[64] In this year the canons of Laon, whose cathedral had just been destroyed by a fire, made Chartres a stop on the relic tour they launched to raise funds for rebuilding. Since the canons had arrived at Chartres on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, it is curious that there is neither mention of the *sancta camisia* nor hint of rivalry between it and the hairs of the Virgin being promoted by Laon's canons.[65] If this were the case, it would appear that the decision of Chartres' clergy to make better use of the *sancta camisia* (if in fact they had previously possessed it) was timely. Devotion to the Virgin skyrocketed in the twelfth century.[66] The *Miracles* as mouthpiece of the tunic brought together numerous facets of the cult of the Virgin and drew on earlier collections of miracles attributed to her.[67]

Medieval people are not alone in their quest for objects that have touched special people. Today many people revere and collect the belongings of modern celebrities. On the morning of August 28, 1997, the BBC announced that a number of Muhammed Ali's personal effects would be auctioned off that October. A representative from Christie's speculated that the highest bid would be for one of Ali's robes, which he predicted would sell for approximately $100,000. When asked by a reporter why the robe would excite such interest, the representative answered that it contains the "blood, sweat, and tears" of the legendary boxer. It is good to see that medieval justification for the power of the tunic of the Virgin is alive and well among modern collectors! A more famous parallel is the public interest in the auction of Princess Diana's dresses in June of 1997. The value of these dresses skyrocketed after her untimely death in August of the same year when it was certain that her body would no longer transfer its special quality to ordinary objects.

The passionate interest in objects that touched favored people was compounded since "by the later thirteenth century Mary had become quite different from any ordinary woman"; the Virgin Mary was so unique, so unlike all other women, that even her biological processes were affected. She

conceived the son of God spiritually, without sexual intercourse, and thus was spared the pangs of labor.[68] Although the learned Dominican friar made this distinction, I would wager that the majority of Le Marchant's audience did not. In any case, it is clear from the miracle that touching the body was enough to sanctify the tunic and that residual fluids from the birth were not necessary to the relic's awe-inspiring appeal.

In 1194 when most of the church burned, the Virgin's tunic was spared from the flames. According to the *Miracles* a couple of clerics fled the flames bearing the relic to the crypt.[69] Three days later when the inferno had subsided, the clerics emerged with the tunic safe and sound.[70] The miracle of the tunic's survival was interpreted as a sign that Mary wanted a bigger church built in her name.[71] The cathedral's bishop and canons now had the opportunity and perhaps the justification to begin building one of the most sublime creations western European society has ever produced.

The *sancta camisia* itself suggested a profile for Chartres as a place of birth, flesh, and bodies while historical circumstance helped to cultivate this image. Chartres may well have been a place of virgin birth long before the Nativity. The fourteenth-century *Vieille Chronique* maintains that people believed the site on which the present cathedral rests had originally been the location of a pagan temple dedicated to a pregnant virgin.[72] It also states that Chartres is a church built above the holy bodies of martyrs killed by Roman and pagan authorities during an early missionary effort. The very ground on which the church stands, therefore, was prepared by worship of a pregnant virgin and later sanctified by the bodies of early Christian martyrs, one of whom had been a young virgin herself.[73]

Records of the Marian devotion of Fulbert of Chartres, the cathedral's famous eleventh-century bishop, further enhanced the church's profile as both Mary's special residence and as a place intimately linked to the Nativity.[74] In fact, the *Vieille Chronique* maintains that Fulbert was the first in Gaul to celebrate the feast of her birth.[75] In addition, the Virgin cured Fulbert who had been suffering from a flesh-eating disease with her breastmilk. The bishop saw a vision of Mary whose breast spilled a little milk onto his tongue, which had been almost consumed by the ravages of ergotism.[76] Three drops remained on his chin, which he collected and placed in a vase to become a relic of her milk venerated at Chartres at later feast days.[77]

Mary as the nursing mother was an important image in chartrain advertising. Reinforcing the close and ancient association the cathedral maintained with Christ and Mary, the *Vieille Chronique* reports that at Chartres the following hymn is sung:

O glorious woman,
Elevated to the top of the stars,
The one who created you in anticipation,

You breastfeed from your holy breast.[78]

This hymn indicates that Mary breastfeeds *(lactas)* in the present. The *Vieille Chronique* maintains that in other churches the hymn is sung so that the verb indicates that the breastfeeding occurred in the past *(lactasti)*. The hymn sung at Chartres conflates past and present time; it enhances the authority of the cathedral by reinforcing its current connection to the Nativity.

Many stories in the *Miracles* also invoke images of breasts. In miracle two Benoît, a young man from Mondonville-Saint-Jean, violates St. Agatha's feast day by working, and his hand is burned by fire. Agatha was an early Christian virgin and martyr whose breast was cut off by a pagan official. It is significant that she is singled out in this miracle since her iconographic symbol is a dish with breasts. (Pls. 4 and 5) That the breasts were sometimes mistaken for loaves of bread (another food association) is particularly intriguing given that Chartres grew literally and figuratively from the wheat fields of the Beauce.[79] As Williams points out, Mary's body was also associated with bread by Peter of Celle, a twelfth-century bishop of Chartres, and in thirteenth-century Moralized Bibles from Paris. Mary's body was the oven in which Christ had been baked.[80] The pairing of the Virgin and Agatha, or oven and loaf, could have been a symbolic statement that Chartres was where bread, bodies, and sacredness met. Agatha's feast day, the fifth of February, fell just three days after the feast of the Purification, a day when people were obliged to donate bread to local churches.[81] That Agatha's breast was healed and her body restored by St. Peter may also be significant in a collection of miracles that focuses on the restoration of bodies.

The fabric and the adornment of the cathedral reinforced the site as one favored by the holy mother of God. Tapestries existed given by Bishop Guillermus to the cathedral in the late twelfth century. These narrated the history of the Incarnation and might have been made to further reinforce the link between Chartres and the Nativity.[82] Also, archeological evidence indicates that the Nativity had been a dominant theme of the rood screen.[83] Mallion acknowledges that although a rigorous comparison of Chartres' rood screen to other rood screens needs to be done, he notes that "while in the rood screens of Laon, Naumbourg, Bourges, Paris, and Amiens the theme developed by the artists was that of the Passion, Chartres' rood screen was essentially devoted…to the infancy of Jesus."[84] It is fitting that the screen did not emphasize the suffering of Christ and instead focused on Christ's infancy, which harmonized with the rest of the cathedral.[85] Katzenellenbogen's study of the cathedral suggests that although many medieval French churches represented the relationship between Christ and Mary, the theme was central at Chartres. He singles out the righthand tympanum of the Royal Portal as being a place where the Virgin's role in Christ's birth is emphasized.[86] (Pl. 6) The Royal Portal is one of the few sections of the cathedral to have survived



Plate 4. Saint Agatha. Musée de Tesse, Le Mans, France (15th Century). *(Copyright Giraudon/Art Resource, NY, used by permission.)*



Plate 5. Saint Agatha. Bernardoni Luini (c. 1475–1532). *(Copyright Alinari/Art Resource, NY, used by permission.)*

the fire of 1194 so it reflects the concerns of eleventh-century spirituality.[87] Katzenellenbogen points out that the importance of the Virgin is amplified in

the church's thirteenth-century constructions.[88] Christ the King of the Royal Portal's central tympanum has changed. The centers of the north and south transept portals are occupied by a Christ who, while still omnipotent, allows his mother to participate in his rule. For example, on the central tympanum of the north transept Christ interacts with the Virgin and is turned toward her; her intercession assists his reign.[89] In the central tympanum of the south transept Christ judges while listening to the petitions of his mother (and of John the Disciple).[90] The miracle stories were written at a time when Christian spirituality emphasized the humanity of Christ and the role of the Virgin in his incarnation. Chartres' clergy argued that it possessed a relic that symbolized both. As medieval religiosity fused mother to son, Chartres claimed a relic that testified to the event that forever united them.

Contributing to the need for Chartres' clergy to emphasize the humanity of Christ were heretical beliefs that were circulating in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As Katzenellenbogen has pointed out, emphasis of the Nativity was probably influenced by a need to counter heterodoxy in nothern France.[91] Although many of these heresies were focused in southern France, they affected the north of the country as well. Heresy spread and reformers traveled as orthodox Christians moved south to make heretics recant. Katzenellenbogen argues that the north facade of the cathedral, which is dedicated to the Incarnation cycle, is a refutation of heretical beliefs denying the humanity of Christ that had surfaced in France during the rebuilding of the cathedral.[92] If this is the case, the *Miracles* might also have been a counter to heresy. Caroline Walker Bynum notes that "by the early thirteenth century… orthodox opponents thought heretics denied body because they saw it as rot."[93] The numerous instances of Christ and Mary conquering death, rot, deformity, and dismemberment (in other words restoring bodies) in the *Miracles* could have been (even if only coincidentally) counterpoints to heretics' denials of bodies. The corpore al history of Chartres rendered the cathedral a strong opponent of dualism.

The chartrain clergy's strategy for competing with southern pilgrimage churches that had the advantage of being close to commercial hubs was to cultivate Mary's image as the vessel in which God took his human form. A temple had been founded at Chartres by pagans who were aware of a prediction that Mary would bear the son of God. The inference was that Chartres was the first city to honor Mary, since devotion to her most miraculous achievement—conceiving and giving birth as a virgin—predated her own lifetime. The relationship between Mary and the people of Chartres was further enhanced by claims that she continued to perform some of her maternal tasks there. As the relationship between church and saint was securely established, so too was the association of mother and son. Chartres was the place where the all-powerful king granted the requests of his mother. By fostering these relationships the clergy of Chartres created an image of a powerful, exclusive, and closely knit clique consisting of Christ,



Plate 6. Chartres Cathedral: Right-Hand Tympanum of the West Facade. *(Photo: James Raymond Blaettler, S.J.)*

Mary, and her church. If Christ loved Mary as his natural mother, and if Mary had chosen Chartres as her special residence, then a direct and effective pipeline functioned between people and God in the sacred place of this cathedral. [94]

IDEAL SACRED PLACE EQUALS PROTECTION, RESTORATION, AND RESURRECTION OF BODIES

The author of the *Miracles* cultivated the cathedral as ideal sacred place within Chartres' existing but developing maternal Marian context; in so doing he left a fascinating example of one community's conception of ideal sacred place. The author accesses and evokes Mary's historical association with Christ to convince his audience that she intercedes to preserve, restore, and resurrect the bodies of those who turn to her at Chartres. These miracles were often mediated by the power of the *sancta camisia,* which further cultivated an image of Chartres as a place of the body by functioning as evidence of the birth and invoking the image of Mary as flesh giver. Chédeville notes that medieval people believed in the Lady of Chartres' ability to cure the body and the soul.[95] The author of the *Miracles,* though, chose to emphasize her power to intercede for physical cures.[96] If Bynum is right and "partition, decay, and digestion were the most fearful destruction twelfth-century writers could imagine" and that "'death' *(mors)* was named from 'bite' *(morsus)*" the *Miracles* addressed some of the most pressing concerns of medieval society.[97]

Of the thirty-two Old French miracles that survive, twenty-five concern the protection, restoration, resurrection, or burial of human bodies; the seven remaining have either biblical themes (miracles ten and eleven tell of the feeding of people through the multiplication of loaves of bread and water turning into wine), relate the protection of objects destined for the cathedral from the elements (miracles twelve and twenty-seven state that sacks of quicklime remain dry despite being caught in a storm and that a cloth for the altar is spared the fire that consumes the house of the woman who made it), or record apparitions (miracle seventeen concerns a column of fire that guides pilgrims through the night, miracle eighteen records a ray of light that illuminated the church and was interpreted to be a manifestation of the Virgin, and miracles twenty-three and thirty-one recount manifestations of the Virgin's image.)[98] Note that miracle twelve could be considered a healing miracle as well because a paralyzed woman regains use of her feet. I have included it with the protection of objects because the preservation of the quicklime from the rain is the main event of the miracle. Just over three-quarters of Le Marchant's corpus, therefore, is dedicated to establishing Chartres Cathedral as a sacred place that protected, healed, or restored life.[99]

PROTECTION

Eight of the miracles record either the Virgin's direct protection of people from harm or her protection mediated through shirts that received their power from contact with the *sancta camisia*'s châsse.[100] For example, miracles thirteen and sixteen record how the Virgin saves a young man and a young girl from perishing in wells (well imagery is particularly important to Chartres because it evokes a memory of the holy martyrs upon whom the cathedral rests; the church is an organic structure which rises from the fertile bodies of saints irrigated by the water at its foundation).[101] Mary spares the former from being crushed by a collapsing well; she saves the latter from drowning. Miracle twenty-two is the story of a mounted knight for whom the Virgin intercedes when his enemies almost chase him into a river.[102] Through the medium of the *sancta camisia* Mary spares the town of Chartres from Rollo's invading army in miracle twenty-eight.[103] The only exception is miracle three, which recounts how Mary's intercession spared the holy tunic from the fire of 1194. Yet even in this miracle Mary sustains the bodies of clerics who guarded the tunic for three days in the crypt of the church:

> Two or three days, they remained beneath,
> Without ever eating or drinking;
> Because the lady sustained them.
> Their sustenance came from her,
> As well as from the high king of majesty….[104]

The sacred energy of the *sancta camisia* is the focus of miracle twenty-one, which is the tale of a knight from Aquitaine pursued by enemies who want to kill him. He goes to Chartres and touches a number of shirts to the relic's châsse. The sacred energy that had radiated from Mary's and Christ's bodies to the tunic during the Nativity now transfers to the shirts and, finally, to the body of the knight:

as is the custom of pilgrims going there he passed with great devotion, a humble heart, and a bowed head under the case of the blessed Virgin. He touched certain shirts which he purposefully carried with him with pious intention and simple devotion to the sacrosanct case believing with a faithful mind and firm hope that it had been sanctified and that this shirt which he had put to the case of the inviolate Virgin which contained

> He passed under the holy case
> And touched I don't know how many shirts
> Which he had placed in his baggage
> To the holy case,
> Because of the relic which was dear to him,
> Which, without deception, is enclosed there;
> This is, truly, the holy tunic,
> Which around her back had clothed

the sacred shirt would become an inviolable cuirass superior to all.	The exalted Virgin, on her naked skin, When she gave birth to the savior…[105]

When the knight returns to his town and meets his enemies, they are unable to harm him because of the power his shirts had retained. The blows of his enemies pierce the layers of clothing he wears above the chemise, but the chemise and his body remain unscathed.[106]

RESTORATION

Twelve of the twenty-five miracles that concern bodies record the restoration of the mind, tongue, face, hands, feet, and a leg.[107] Miracle fourteen tells the story of a man who is cured of a hernia.[108] And miracle thirty-two asserts that the Virgin healed two hundred and sixty people suffering from ergotism, a disease whose effects must have seemed to many like the rot of death.[109] Some of the afflicted had lost entire limbs, others just parts. Miracle thirty articulates well the Virgin's power to obtain cures for physical ailments:

> Whoever wishes to hear come to me!
> The desire to tell more about the skillful healer
> seizes me
> About the skillful surgeon
> About a beautiful curer of Chartres.
> Our Lady treats more sick people
> Than all the great doctors
> Or than all the good surgeons
> Of Montpellier or Salerno.[110]

This is a particularly striking claim to make for a woman (albeit a very special one) since as of the late twelfth century women medical practitioners in France suffered when "physicians of the Parisian faculty of medicine made concerted efforts to control the medical practice of surgeons, barbers, and empirics."[111] As the professionalization of medical practice increasingly excluded women, Mary of Chartres continued to heal and restore. The mother of Christ did not need a license; she had her son's ear. In addition, the reference to Montpellier and Salerno may be significant in an age when universities were springing up in western Europe and Chartres' school may have been eclipsed. Richard Southern has argued that the importance of Chartres' school has been exaggerated by historians.[112] Even if Southern is correct, this passage might reveal the competition Chartres' clergy felt from

the growing number of universities. Why travel to a medical school when your faith can heal you at Chartres?

The first miracle records a vivid example of the importance of worldly human bodies to the function of medieval sacred place, recounting the restoration of the facial skin of Gondrée, a woman who suffered from ergotism.[113] Gondrée's affliction was so grave that she hardly had any skin left on her face. The account evokes a skeletal image:

In fact, the fire [of ergotism] had invaded the face and lips of this woman. Already, to the horror of those who looked at her, all which overtook the skin of the cartilage on her nose and on her upper lip which was linked to the nose the infectious fire had disfigured, ravaging as far as her jaws and the gums of her molars.

Gondrée was taken by the fire
Which made her suffer so strongly
That her nose and face
Burned her, and many saw her like this,
To the point that neither flesh nor skin remained.
She lost all through this torment:
Her nose and her lip at the same time,
That on top which touches the nose,
To the point that you could see her mouth,
From outside, all that there was inside,
And the gums and teeth,
Those of the front and of the rear,
Absolutely all to her molars
Which appeared naked,
Lacking flesh and skin.[114]

Although very much alive, Gondrée's face, the part of her body which was most difficult to hide, resembled that of a decaying corpse.

Initially Gondrée leaves her home in Aisne to pray to Mary at the Virgin's church in Soissons. A minor miracle occurs there when the disfiguring condition is limited to Gondrée's face and the pain subsides. The miracle story relates that greater things would follow. Still lacking the skin on her face, Gondrée plans to return to the chapel of the Virgin in Soissons to ask for the restoration of her skin. The night before her trip she is awakened when the cloth she has placed on her face slips away. As she fumbles to replace the cloth she discovers that her skin has been restored. Gondrée cries out and Mary appears saying, "you will announce to the faithful that the lady of Chartres has done this."[115] In their ardor the people kiss her nose and lips as if they had been newly fashioned by the hands of God himself.[116] And for the remainder of her life Gondrée's facial skin remains a public testimony to Mary's power of intercession.[117]

The insecurities of medieval society are revealed in the afflicted body parts that feature in this and other stories of miraculous cures. Gondrée's story describes the ravages of ergotism, a disease that was found in this wheat-growing region. It addresses the fears of contracting the illness as well as being abandoned because of the sufferer's appearance and stench. Gondrée is rejected by her family as well as her neighbors; she is alone in the world.[118] Perhaps it is for this reason that the Old French version ends with a miracle of Mary curing 260 people of the disease, leaving the reader on a note of hope.[119]

Economic realities are also apparent in the miracle stories of Benoît and Guillaume, who work the land, and a spinner from the nearby town of Bonneval who put economic gain before religious observance.[120] Benoît is forced to violate St. Agatha's feast day by a man who has hired him to pick up and rake thatches. Guillaume's poverty encourages him to farm (he cuts oats) on St. Germain's feast day. The unnamed woman continues to work after Saturday vespers (a time consecrated to the Virgin) because she realizes that she will be penalized for not spinning all her wool. Their punishment is loss of use of one or both of their hands, without which a laborer and spinner cannot work. In addition, the Virgin intercedes for Robert of Jouy who has lost the profits from his grape harvest because he suffers from an unidentified disease of his leg.[121] Robert had the unpleasant experience of being rejected by the other sick people gathered in the cathedral; they threw him out of the church "like a dog" because his affliction was so fetid.[122] In miracle four the reader wonders about the challenges Guillot, a little boy who cannot speak because his tongue has been severed, will experience.[123] Guillot had the misfortune of stumbling upon a knight and a young lady embracing. The knight prevented Guillot from gossiping about the lovers' tryst by cutting out his tongue. How will Guillot fare in a predominately oral culture? Similarly, the miracle of Fulbert's healed tongue recounted in the *Vieille Chronique* is more than just another story of a person suffering from ergotism.[124] If Fulbert's tongue had been irreparably damaged, the great bishop never would have been since he could not have carried out the primary episcopal responsibility of preaching. These realities of daily life, therefore, impress the importance of the cures: the church as a *whole* body, and the Virgin Mary as a *holy* body, heal and restore the damaged and mangled folk of the region.

"L'ANGOISSE MATERNELLE" AND THE RESURRECTION OF CHILDREN

The chartrain clergy further cultivated the image of Mary as mother with four miracles which record the resurrection of young children after they had either drowned or choked to death on a piece of glass.[125] These four accounts illustrate that Mary can obtain cures in the cathedral space (miracle seven) as

well as outside. For example, two dead children are resurrected en route to the cathedral after their mothers invoke the Lady of Chartres and rush toward her church (miracles six and eight). The dead child in miracle nineteen lived in Sully-sur-Loire, about 100 kilometers away; he is cured in his own town once his godmother vows to make an annual pilgrimage to Chartres.[126] As in the case of sanctuary, the power of sacred place is focused within, but not limited to, the space of the church building.

It is the bond between mother and child that causes the women to invoke the Virgin. Even the godmother in miracle nineteen loved her spiritual son as if he were her natural child.[127] Who could better understand their pain and be a more appropriate intecessor for grieving mothers than a powerful and connected woman who had lost a son herself? The nursing mother in miracle six invokes Mary as the "mother of the Savior." When she reaches the cathedral, she places the living child on the altar as an offering.[128] In miracle eight "the mother of pity looked upon the misery of the maternal anguish with commiseration."[129] The author makes a reference to the sword of maternal pain that pierced the soul of the mother. Villette notes that it is an "allusion to the pain which would pierce the heart of the Virgin Mary, according to the prophecy of Simeon pronounced at the time of the Presentation in the Temple."[130] In miracle seven the bond between Mary and the grieving mother is made most explicit. This mother's child was not yet resuscitated when she placed her in front of the altar:

> When the mother had placed the body of her lifeless infant in front of the altar of the very holy Virgin, begging her with words of desolation to return her daughter to her, the mother of pity, *as if she also suffered from this maternal pain,* finally deigned to hear her prayers.[131] (emphasis added)

The author of the *Miracles* used Mary's experience as a mother of a child resurrected from the dead to address the concerns of women who were mothering children in a dangerous world. The body of Mary, birthed *but* virgin, is the site of union for the birthed *and* virgin (or at least celibate); the clergy related to her virginity and women identified with her motherhood. Like the church in her name, Mary's body was a sacred place of unification for people who had very different concerns.

Sacred places were important to medieval people as well-worn thresholds between heaven and earth. They believed that divine intervention could be spontaneous but thought of churches as places where God intervened regularly. Communication between heaven and earth was better assured if a church had a powerful patron. A sympathetic and vocal advocate made a qualitative difference in sacred place. The miracles, therefore, while acknowledging that Mary heals and resurrects at places other than Chartres, make it clear that it is her favorite place to intercede. The intimate

relationship that the tales of miraculous intentions (as well as the sculptural program) establish between Christ, Mary, and Chartres Cathedral, which is focused in but not limited to the space of the church, renders Chartres the most powerful church of the Christian world. It is the place where time is conflated and the gap between heaven and earth is most easily bridged. It is not by chance that Jean Le Marchant ends miracle thirtytwo, the last in the Old French collection, with the following statement of Mary's power:

> The mother with her child has
> The power to obtain all that she asks.
> The power which suits the son,
> The mother has power in accordance with his will.
> One of the powers is grafted to the other
> As a branch to a stump.
> So we pray from the heart and the mouth
> For the lady to be, by her favor,
> Our advocate near her son,
> To obtain for us the joy of heaven.
> That the mother hears us, as well as the son
> Who, on account of the prayer of his mother,
> We hope will lead us to his father
> Who has the kingdom and the empire
> Where nothing perishes or corrupts.[132]

Mary is mediatrix through her son because she had been joined to him as one flesh.

CONCLUSION

Situated outside the main centers of commerce and industry, the clergy of Chartres Cathedral were forced aggressively to market their church to attract donations and pilgrims. The special relic the church supposedly had possessed since the ninth century had not been able to establish Chartres as a popular pilgrimage center. Forced to rebuild their destroyed church at the end of the twelfth century, the clergy knew that in order to compete with the grand cathedrals of the age they would have to build a grand cathedral themselves. This was a challenging task since the town was not wealthy and the people were most likely not very supportive.

The compilation of Mary's miracles is one of the instruments—perhaps the central instrument—the clergy used in an attempt to generate funds to supplement their own contributions to the building program. As such, the text offers a wonderful example of ideal sacred place in the Middle Ages. But the miracles are not standard or generic. The bishop and canons assembled a series of miracle stories around their relic that they felt would add to the

prestige and authority of their church. Many of these tales are colored by the qualities of the tunic and the cathedral's internal culture. They demonstrate that the currency of Chartres is human flesh. Jacques Haligre's assertion that Chartres' Latin name comes from *caro,* that is *flesh,* seems particularly fitting.[133] The reader is left to wonder if Chartres' clergy were indulging themselves in a clever pun when in the first Old French miracle the Virgin tells Gondrée to announce to the faithful that the lady of Chartres—the lady of flesh—has healed her.[134]

Part II

Mundane and Profane Uses of Medieval Sacred Places

Chapter Three
Earthly Uses of Heavenly Spaces
Non-Liturgical Activities in Sacred Place

CHAPTERS ONE AND TWO FOCUSED ON LEARNED CONCEPTIONS OF Chartres Cathedral and other churches in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; chapter three explores some of the non-liturgical uses of these sanctuaries. Although the bodies of the saints helped to establish sacred places and revealed their power of intercession, ironically other bodies—those of the pilgrims who visited them—challenged the reserved character of the very churches their spiritual heroes helped create. Technically reserved for worship, clergy and laity put these buildings to numerous non-liturgical uses, raising a fascinating question: just how sacred—or set apart—*were* medieval churches?

Relatively little has been written about this subject, despite its importance as a signpost to the contours of medieval understanding of sacred place.[1] Late last century and early in this century Sidney Oldall Addy and William Andrews did some work on this subject for England. Their accounts, however, are narrative and do not address larger questions of meaning and significance of such uses. More recently J.G.Davies has written on the subject also with a focus on England.[2] Non-liturgical use of church space in medieval France remains relatively uncharted territory. A small number of works has been published on various aspects of secular usage—including the use of Chartres Cathedral for lodging medieval pilgrims.[3] It is the goal of this chapter to offer the reader a sample of non-liturgical activities in sacred place and break ground for what promises to be a fascinating avenue of exploration into the cultural history of medieval northwestern Europe by considering the conflict between theory and practice of medieval sacred place.

People regularly tested and challenged the order of officially recognized sacred places, and the clergy responded to these challenges in a variety of ways, deeming some non-liturgical activities as either harmless or necessary. Others, however, were not tolerated and were even considered sacrilegious and condemned. At issue usually was the area within the church fabric, but certain objectionable activities in cloisters and cemeteries also created controversy. Just as all areas of the church building were not equally

sacred, not all non-liturgical activities were equally profane. Human bodies negotiated sacred places and rendered them less restricted than one might expect from the rite of consecration, the official ecclesiastical statement on the church building. Considering nonliturgical uses of churches, therefore, will enable historians to reveal their ambiguity and reconstruct for them living histories.[4]

Buildings were bodies and, like the human forms to which they were so intimately connected, certain parts of churches were more sacred—more reserved—than others. Like the head and heart that control the life centers of our bodies, the sanctuary and the choir are the life systems of churches, and as with any system, this control center had to be kept secure. Like the important but non-vital lower segment of the human body, to medieval people the lower or westernmost areas of the church building did not interpret human experience and mediate salvation. In other words, although the nave was important to the church building because it represented a part that many (although certainly not all) considered integral to the church building, it was not the source of spiritual life. The lifeblood of the church originated in the sanctuary where God was made and in the choir, the location of the clergy who performed and witnessed the miracle of transubstantiation.

LODGING AND STORAGE

Chartres Cathedral was a place of rest for many. Some people slept in the church because it was their job, some because they were sick and were seeking a cure, and others because they were visitors who simply needed a place to stay. According to Bulteau's plan, the choir contained five rooms in which church officers slept.[5] In the southwest corner the *queux* or cook, whose responsibilities included lighting candles and sounding the gong for mass, had quarters in which he spent the night.[6] Further east on opposite sides were the rooms of the lay sacristans *(marguilliers laïcs)* who assisted the clerical sacristans *(marguilliers clercs)*.[7] These men were strategically positioned just to the west of the north and south entrances to the choir. The sanctuary, the most sacred part of the building, accommodated a clerical sacristan who in addition to attending to the relics, jewels, ornaments, and books of the church slept on a camp bed to guard Chartres' treasures against nocturnal theft. He had a room just to the east of one of the two treasuries so that he could always keep an eye on the cathedral's impressive collection (he even ate his meals on the rood screen).[8] The cross-bear er *(porte-croix)* slept across from the sacristan on the south side of the sanctuary and guarded the second treasury. The candle extinguishers *(eteigneurs de chandelles)* spent their evenings in the *guet*, which was located on one of the upper floors of the north tower.[9] Throughout the night they rang the bell every hour. From this vantage point they were also able to watch for fires. These eteigneurs seem to

have been busy men since when they weren't ringing bells and looking for smoke they were trying to keep people quiet and chasing away stray dogs![10] In addition four armed men guarded the church and cloister from small rooms on either side of the portals.[11]

The church continued its lively activities even at night so that there was a need for security. Officers were charged with keeping people quiet and orderly once darkness fell. Although the editors of the cathedral's cartulary state that these men emptied the cathedral of its visitors and locked its doors *(recherche),* it appears that at times Chartres bustled day and evening.[12] The crypt was the location of a hospital, the Holy Place of the Strong *(Sanctus-Locus-Forcium),* which chartrain tradition held had been built over the bodies of early Christian martyrs.[13] The author of the *Vieille Chronique* considered the hospital a liminal place where Mary and her son decided the fate of those who suffered from ergotism:

> Indeed up to this time this place is disposed toward miraculous sanctity for the sick who assemble there from all over who are said *to burn (ardentes)* and are weakened by the sacred fire which is called *the fire of Blessed-Mary (ignis Beate-Marie);* but through the grace [of God] and his mother during the nine days that they are accustomed to remain there they are entirely cured or, as happens in some cases, they die more rapidly.[14]

After the plague of 1134 a community of nursing sisters was installed in the crypt.[15] These women religious tended to the sick and took care of the church's linen. Brillon even suggested that Helvisa, an eleventh-century "recluse of most sacred memory," had lived in the crypt.[16] Had Helvisa lived a few centuries later she would have had the company of the two dogs the sacristans obtained around 1360 to guard the church at night.[17] The recluse would not have been pleased since the *chiens* were loud—so loud that the clergy ultimately had to give them up because they prevented the guardians of the church from sleeping!

Miracle thirty also helps us reconstruct the atmosphere at Chartres. When Robert of Jouy, whose body was wounded like a martyr's *([e]n grant martyre estoit son cors),* was brought to the cathedral with a rotten leg and foot:

> He finds there many dying
> And sick people who are complaining.
> Some burn, others don't burn anymore,
> One cries, the other yells.[18]

Although the church's architecture and liturgy may have conjured visions of heaven, the reality inside the building often resembled hell as visitors were overcome by screams of pain, the sight of rotting flesh, and offensive smells.

Robert was the unfortunate man whose affliction was so fetid that those inside the church requested the guardians to remove him, saying that he smelled "worse than an otter."[19] Yet, just as some of the worst illnesses were painfully clear and present, there were times when the grace of God pierced the walls of the temple. The account of Robert's reaction to his cure gives the reader the sense that the cathedral could be a lively place indeed!

> [Robert] ran continually around the altar,
> Continually stamping his healed foot
> Heavily on the pavement,
> And he cried in a loud voice:
> "Here is the foot of the beautiful lady!
> Here is the foot of the beautiful lady!"[20]

The clergy took Robert for a village fool and ordered that he be put out in the cloister, distant enough so the people in the church would not have to hear him. The crowd, however, recognized Robert because he had been sleeping in the cathedral for days.[21] When he convinced them that he was the recipient of the Virgin's grace, Mary and her church received an enthusiastic response:

> Throughout the church they rejoiced
> Clerics and lay people, men and women.
> The [cloitrieres] and good women
> Made a great concert of song.
> In the towers the ringing
> Was long, great and marvellous.[22]

The evidence for people sleeping in Chartres gleaned from miracle thirty is corroborated by miracle fourteen:

> There was a great crowd of sick
> Who live in the church
> At Chartres and who sleep
> Throughout the church, from side to side,
> On litters or beds.
> Each waits for a cure
> And help for his illness.[23]

Yet not all those who remained in the church for an extended period of time were ill. Guillaume, who is the subject of miracle fourteen, was cured of a hernia but decided to remain in the church and, in honor of the Virgin who facil itated his cure, take care of the sick.[24] This grateful former patient (like the religious women who tended to the sick in the crypt) is an example of how the infirm at Chartres drew the healthy into their orbit. The curious

were also attracted to the spectacle of those struck by divine retribution. For example, in miracle twenty-four which relates the tale of the villager who profaned St. Germain's feast day, a crowd assembled around the parish church of the saint where they remained "that day and the following night until the next day."[25] It is probably safe to assume, therefore, that these onlookers slept in the church. Even the average worshipper whose stay in the church was shorter could take advantage of church interiors to catch up on his or her sleep. The Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–1240) relates the curious story of Henry, a knight who had a fondness for a particular paving stone in the author's monastic church. Henry ultimately approached the abbot, Gevrard, and asked for the stone, saying that he wanted to put it on his bed because "if anyone who cannot sleep should rest his head upon it, he will go to sleep at once."[26] Another noble sang the praises of the stones of the abbey church of Hemmenrode, which he claimed were softer than any of the beds in his castle.[27]

It was the feasts of the Virgin (Assumption, Purification, Annunciation, and Nativity of the Virgin), however, which attracted the greatest number of pilgrims to Chartres. Although the miracles do not paint a picture of what the atmosphere of the church was like on these particular days, it does illustrate how crowded the cathedral and cloister could become. Miracle four describes the response of people to reported miracles at the church:

> So many pilgrims had come
> By roads and by paths
> That it was a great marvel.
> Each night they kept vigil
> And there were so many in the church
> That all of them could not be accommodated there.
> But the greatest part
> Had to sleep in the cloister
> And eat [there] in the evening.
> Each place was totally filled
> With male and female pilgrims,
> To the extent that the clerics who, for matins,
> Came to the church at night
> Were not able to enter the cloister.[28]

Some of this is probably rhetorical flourish although there is archeological evidence that tends to corroborate the literary evidence. According to one author, the cathedral's floors were sloped to allow for cleaning the refuse left behind by lodging pilgrims.[29] A cistern was located on the north side of the church, near the tower. Water entered the building from this point and, due to the east-west and north-south slopes of the nave, flushed the pavement from the transept (which was level) to the western facade. The water exited

the building through drains positioned at the Royal Portal, near the south tower.

According to Bulteau there were semi-annual major cleanings after the feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin when many pilgrims left behind traces of their visit.[30] Villette points to a man who, although from a later period, provides information that might be helpful when considering medieval pilgrims' use of the cathedral. Roulliard made a pilgrimage to Chartres on September 8, 1608. In his account he wrote of: "people of all ages and sexes who spent the night and slept inside the church, under the caves [crypt], under the porches, and in infinite other places."[31] It is very likely that the cathedral functioned much the same way in the Middle Ages.

Sanctuary seekers tested the sacredness of church buldings as they used them not only as places of refuge but also as temporary residences where they ate, slept, and performed mundane tasks. For example, clause fourteen of the Constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 reads "[t]he chattels of those who are under forfeiture to the king may not be retained by any church or cemetery against the king's justice, because they belong to the king, whether they be found within the churches or without."[32] Apparently the right of sanctuary could be enjoyed not only by refugees but also by their property. Although King Henry II of England saw this custom as a violation of his rights, church precincts were often places of refuge for people and objects.

Times of war were particularly tense for medieval people and challenged the reserved nature of sacred places. Hugh of Poitiers, a twelfth-century notary of the abbey of Vézelay, records that the townspeople "violated the holy temple of the church, occupied its towers, [and] stocked them with guards, food, and arms…."[33] Yet a late thirteenth-century statute from a synod of the churches of Quercy, La Rouerge, and Tulle acknowledges that rules need to be bent at certain times, particularly during wars and fires:

> Because certain clerics expose churches in this way to furnishings and household utensils (their own and those of others) so that they seem to be lay houses rather than basilicas of God, we therefore firmly prohibit that furnishings and household utensils of this kind be admitted in churches unless unexpectedly on account of a war or fires or other urgent necessities [during which] it may be necessary to take refuge with them. But when the necessity ceases to exist the things should be restored to their original places.[34]

It is precisely this refuge that churches and their ancillary structures offered communities under attack that occassionally rendered them targets of violence, such as when Theodoric of Avesnes, a Flemish noble, set fire to a number of convents in which his enemy, Count Baldwin of Hainaut, had been stationing soldiers.[35]

VENDING

In addition to physical protection churches, cloisters, and cemeteries could provide economic protection as well. Sales made within church precincts were usually exempt from secular jurisdiction and taxation; this favorable tax status coupled with the usual high traffic made churches and their complexes strategic locations for vendors. Hubert Guillotel's study reveals that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Breton cemeteries were used for buying and selling merchandise as well as for issuing charters since the sacred character of consecrated ground could foster a hospitable environment in which to conduct business.[36] The privilege of tax exemption inspired the canons of Paris to sell their wine in their cloister "as if in a tavern," a practice that attracted gamblers and drunks and raised the ire of Pope Gregory IX in 1233.[37] As Geneviève Aclocque points out, tavern keepers sold their wine in Chartres' nave in order to avoid even a reduced tax. It was not unusual to find wine criers and sellers of spicy liquor loudly hawking samples of their merchandise, which they poured from pitchers they carried.[38] By the early fourteenth century the canons of Chartres were maintaining a tavern in their cloister. During a deliberation in 1320 they enjoined two collectors of the count's *banvin* to return to a wine crier the tax the agents had collected from vendors who were selling out of a house situated in the cloister.[39] This is a striking practice given that some people considered taverns to be "the Devil's church, where his disciples go to serve him and where he doth his miracles…."[40] These criers who sought refuge from the count's right of *banvin* had become so deeply rooted in the cathedral's internal culture that even when the chapter began to regulate activity in the church seven years later it allowed the criers to continue their sales in the crypt, below one of the towers.[41]

Pope Gregory was hardly the only clergy member who objected to such mundane uses of the church environs. A synod statute from the church of Troyes decreed that only wax candles should be sold in churches or cemeteries. The sale of any other items in these places incurred excommunication *ipso facto*.[42] In 1246 the church of Nevers revealed the wide gap that often existed between clerical expectations and lay usage of medieval sacred places:

> because the house of God is a house of prayer, as confirmed by God, and therefore should not be given over to other uses, we more strictly prohibit that any goods be sold in the church of Nevers on any day or at any time; we give authority to any canon who comes upon a person selling goods in the church to eject the vendor with his goods.[43]

Most secular rulers supported clerical efforts to exclude lay commerce from churches and their immediate environs since local governments lost

profit from tax revenue on unregulated commerce in churches. But they opposed clerical commercial activity in secular jurisdictions where taxes could be levied. This meant that local secular rulers tried to confine the commercial activity of the clergy, encouraging them to engage in commerce within the church precincts. Count Guillaume III of Ponthieu was just one such official who tried to restrain the activity of the intrusive clerical merchants of the diocese of Amiens to church and cemetery.[44]

A late twelfth-century document from Chartres sets out the days on which merchants might sell their wares in the cloister and describes the procedure to be followed in setting up their stalls before the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity of the Virgin, the cathedral's four major feasts.[45] These feast days were the usual fair days. If a merchant set up shop in the cloister on any other day, a canon could ask him to leave; if the merchant refused, the canon could remove his goods.[46] For convenience, however, merchants were permitted to assemble their stalls the night before the feast.[47] If a vendor decided to exercise this option, he could assign custody of the stall to one of the dean's servants who would receive a small payment for his service.[48] If individual canons did not object, merchandise could also be sold under the canopies of their houses.[49] In this case, the merchant could assign the custody of his stall to one of the canons' servants, who would receive the fee.[50] The roads that led from the canons' houses to the cathedral, however, were not to be blocked; there had to be space so that two people (a canon accompanied by another man) could move freely down the street. If anyone blocked free passage, the canon could ask the merchant to move, and the merchandise of a non-compliant vendor could be confiscated.[51] At times the canons might order the dismantling of even a permanent stall if it were inconveniently located. On behalf of her son's soul Adela, a twelfth-century countess of Chartres, had ordered a butcher's stall pulled down that was blocking the traffic entering and exiting the cloister and leaking sewage into the chapter's cellar.[52]

Clergy sometimes competed among themselves for the economic benefits of commerce. For example, the location of stalls within church complexes might be negotiated for financial gain. A charter dated May 26, 1224 records the move of merchants' stalls from the porches of Chartres Cathedral to the south cloister so that the proceeds, which had previously gone to the dean, would accrue to the canons.[53] Evidence of commerce in the cathedral is provided in a late twelfth-century charter in which Bishop Peter of Celles confirms a sacristan's *[capicerius]* right to fees received from stalls located in the church *[infra ecclesiam]* and on its porches *[in porticibus ecclesie]*.[54] One of the most colorful accounts of commercial activity in Chartres is recorded in an extract from a fourteenth-century chapter register:

> The regulation was passed at the general chapter meeting at the Feast of St. John in 1327 to expel from the church, among others, those who

> hawk wine, those of disolute life, young louts, and those who sell parchment.[55]

This prohibition followed a decade in which canons', bishop's, and count's servants continually spilled each others' blood during skirmishes in the cathedral, necessitating continual rounds of purification and reconciliation.[56] According to Lépinois the nave had become a place of ill repute *(espèce de tripot),* which offered shelter to merchants, troublemakers, and children who played games.[57]

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

The shelter provided by churches and their cloisters and cemeteries rendered them convenient places for secular and ecclesiastical courts although this use met with continual opposition. In the *Decretals* Pope Gregory IX warns that judicial trials for blood crimes should not be heard in churches or cemeteries. He objects on two grounds. It is against tradition to use the church building in such a way, and it is wrong that a church established to provide sanctuary to refugees from the law also be used as a court in which to try the very same people.

> According to evangelical truth the church of God should be a house of prayer, not a den of thieves or a blood court. We prohibit urider eternal anathema that secular trials that stem from the spilling of blood and from the punishment of the body be held by judges in churches or cemeteries. Indeed it is absurd and cruel that a blood trial be held where the protection of refuge has been established.[58]

The objection made by the churches of Quercy, La Rouerge, and Tulle in 1289 to the similar uses of the same kinds of spaces (churches and cemeteries) appears to have been based on concern for the disposition of the different legal processes that apply to secular and ecclesiastical cases:

> [W]e prohibit secular judges and official bailiffs, or secular messengers, from hearing cases, disputes, and quarrels or pleas of the laity in churches or cemeteries because the right to hear the cases does not have the disposition by its own law in these places.[59]

Although some clergy objected to the secular use of churches, cloisters, and cemeteries on various grounds, nevertheless such court usage was common. For example, Herman of Tournai notes that in the eleventh century the laity of the Flemish town of Tournai frequently used the cathedral cloister of St. Mary as a court of law. "Before [master] Odo's arrival, the knights and citizens were accustomed by tradition to make full use of the canons' cloister

to hear and determine legal cases."[60] Odo himself gathered students in front of the church doors where he conducted evening classes on the movement of the stars. The master spoke "in front of the church doors from the evening hours deep into the night… showing his students the course of the stars with his outstretched finger and tracing the differences between the zodiac and the Milky Way."[61]

Bishops of Chartres appear to have used their cathedral to hear ecclesiastical cases. In a letter he wrote around 1007 to define the services owed him by Reginald, count of Vendôme and bishop of Paris, Fulbert of Chartres uses the word *atrium* to describe his court. Frederick Behrends, editor of Fulbert's poems and letters, believes that *atrium* stood for both the bishop's court and the place on the church's porch where the proceedings were held.[62] Although little is known about the temporal justice of the later bishops, the cathedral's cartulary reveals the traffic of prisoners between the cloister and the Loëns granary/jail beyond the north wall of the cloister. For example, in a charter dated 12 April 1274 the dean William of Grez and his chapter permitted Peter, the current bishop, and his successors to place carts in the cloister on which prisoners were exposed (so long as they did not block entrance to the church):

> [Bishops] may themselves place or make to be placed by mandate purjurers and their other prisoners on these said carts [and] to lead and to return [the prisoners] through the cloister, freely and peacefully, as often as they see fit.[63]

Unlike Pope Gregory IX, the bishops of Chartres didn't consider it a breakdown in logic to use space that could offer sanctuary as ecclesiastical courts and places of punishment for the bishop's prisoners. It was probably much harder for the church officials who were responsible for administering ecclesiastical justice to idealize church space and protect it from secular usage.

SOCIALIZING AND PLAYING GAMES

It is not surprising that medieval churches were places where people could meet and socialize. In addition to the cries of pain of the sick and the confessions of the attacked who feared the prospect of being wounded, raped, or even killed, the walls of these sanctuaries heard much talking and merrymaking. Sometimes the topics of conversations were religious in nature, more often they were not. For example, in the *Miracles* the pilgrim who was captured as he traveled to Chartres but was later spared from his captors by the intercession of the Virgin visited the "church of Chartres then and henceforth each year that he lived [and] told many people in this church all about his adventure."[64] The girl who had made a cloth for the cathedral's

altar, which was later spared from a fire, was just as enthusiastic. The Old French version of this miracle reports that the bishop of Angers heard her relating the miracle in Chartres.[65]

A number of works instructed against less pious church conversation. For example, *The Goodman of Paris,* a late fourteenth-century book of moral instruction, warns that mass should not be attended as if it were a social occasion. A good woman should avoid "moving hither and thither" and "going to and fro" while she is in church.[66] She should not look around her and her prayer should be earnest and focused. The virtues of punctuality and modesty in dress were also praised by medieval authors. Caesarius of Heisterbach writes:

> A priest [of Mainz] was going around his church and sprinkling the people with holy water, and when he came to the door of the church, he met there, striding haughtily in, a matron dressed out with all kinds of adornments, as gay as a peacock; and on her skirts, which she was dragging far behind her, he saw a number of demons sitting. They were as small as dormice, and as black as Ethiopians, grinning and clapping their hands and leaping hither and thither like fish inclosed in a net; for in truth feminine extravagance is a net of the devil.[67]

The priest asked the woman to wait outside the church door and invited the congregation to witness the demons. She soon realized her error (and noticed the demons with whom she had been traveling), went home, and changed her dress—serving as a model of humility for the other women of the town.

Caxton's fifteeenth-century translation of Geoffrey of La Tour Landry's *The Book of the Knight of the Tower,* which he began in 1371, offers similar messages.[68] Geoffrey intended it to be a book of moral instruction for his daughters and recorded tales that provide examples of women's religious and social conduct (and misconduct). One of the lessons this work seeks to teach is that people should not socialize in churches. Chapter twenty-seven, which speaks to the problem of people playing and chattering at mass, draws on an unidentified source, the "gestys of Athenes." The tale paints a colorful picture of knights, squires, ladies, and damselles misbehaving during a mass held in a hermit's chapel. As the hermit leads the service, congregants whispered, gossiped, and jested. As punishment for their sin these men and women became crazed for nine days. The exemplum ends with the following summary: "And they were chastised/so that from then on/they refrained from speaking and gossiping during divine service/By this example we should understand that no person should talk in church or disturb the mass."[69]

The following chapter of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* recounts the story of St. Martin of Tours delivering a sermon on the perils of talking during mass (particularly during the Gospel), which was prompted by the

misbehavior of some of the congregation. As the saint of Tours was celebrating a mass he noticed that his co-celebrant, St. Brice, was laughing. When the service was done and the archbishop asked him why he had laughed Brice answered that he had observed the devil writing on parchment the conversations of the men and women who were talking throughout the mass. The demon jotted busily, holding the roll in his hand and unfurling it with his teeth until the parchment fell and he struck his head against the wall, which caused Brice to laugh. This colorful tale was for Geoffrey's daughters another example of "how [they] should act humbly and devotedly in church/and not talk or chatter…."[70] One further story of a lady who is punished for "mock[ing] the church and the house of God" by exchanging signs and tokens of love with a squire during mass reinforces the message that churches—particularly during the celebration of mass— should not be houses of casual social interaction.[71]

Yet this is exactly what they were at times. Dice would be cast in the *chambrier's* home after the Easter meal at Chartres Cathedral.[72] And in a twist on the liturgy at the same church, *alleluia* would not be said during the first vespers of Septuagesima; instead, the choirboys threw a top *[sabot]* into the nave and drove it into the cloister with whips.[73] John Beleth, a twelfth-century rector of the University of Paris, recorded the ancient custom of the *decembrica,* in which bishops and archbishops of some churches (he names Reims specifically) played ball with their clerks in their churches' cloisters. Although these games were permitted, John thought it better to avoid them:

> Indeed there are certain churches where even bishops and archbishops play with their clerks in the cloisters, so that they even lower themselves to playing ball. This liberty is called "decembrica" because the ancient custom was practiced by the gentiles so that in this month on account of the liberty priests, monks, and nuns are given festivals followed by meals once the crops have been gathered. Although it is permitted to the great churches (such as Reims) to have this custom of play, nevertheless not to play is considered to be more laudable.[74]

Santarcangeli notes that labyrinths seem to have been particularly festive areas within the nave, so much so that in 1538 the French Parliament prohibited children from playing games in them since their cries offended the sacrality of the holy places; he speculates that this prohibition was really motivated by the pagan origins of many of the games.[75] Although some of these ball games may have been mere diversions for children and adults alike, others seem to have had a ceremonial function. For example, at Auxerre as late as the early fifteenth century the dean and canons played a game of ball called *pelota*. The game took place in the labyrinth into which a novice carried in both hands a ball too large to be held in one. The dean or another high-ranking church official accepted the ball from the novice, held it

against his chest with his left hand, and following the musical rhythm sang the litanies of Easter. Thus began a dance around the labyrinth that joined the hands of those present. The dancing ended when the dean threw the ball to each of the dancers. After each canon had his turn, the chapter retired to the refectory for lunch. Thus, at Auxerre each canons entry into the chapter was punctuated by song, dance, and a communal meal.[76] The game of *pelota* is described in a document from 1412 as *ordinatio de pila facienda*.[77] Might the word *ordinatio* suggest that the clergy saw this game as a rite of inclusion for novice canons?

SEXUAL ACTVITY

Even intimate social exchanges occurred in holy places. The worst excesses could be stamped out officially. Philip Augustus began his reign with an act that prohibited Parisian prostitutes from conducting business in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents.[78] But clandestine dalliance not for money probably was a constant in churches, one of the few dry, relatively protected public places available for couples to use. Margery Kempe seems to have been propositioned by a man in the church of St. Margaret, and she may have later offered herself to him in the same building.[79] Even monastic space was not free from such abuse; Abelard confesses in his letters to have made love to Heloise in the refectory of the convent at Argenteuil before she had taken the veil.[80] Other cautionary tales warn professed folk against such behavior. Caesarius of Heisterbach tells the miracle of a nun who may have been propositioned in a church by a clerk; when she attempted to exit the sanctuary for an arranged tryst, she discovered Christ's crucified body blocking each of the doors.[81] Caesarius also records a parallel miracle of a priest who attempted to leave his church with a host in his mouth, hoping that if he kissed a certain woman, the power of the Lord's body would make her succumb to his advances. He too was miraculously prevented from leaving; frightened he would be discovered with the host he sacrilegiously buried it in a corner of the church. Later he returned to the spot with his confessor, finding not the bread but an image of a man crucified on a cross—a graphic reminder of the power of transubstantiation?[82] It is not surprising, therefore, that Geoffrey of La Tour Landry's book of manners to guide his daughters relates riveting *exempla* to warn readers of the divine punishments meted out to those who desecrate churches with sexual activity. One chapter is devoted to the story of Perrot Lenard, a layman from Candé-en-la-Mée, who had sexual relations on an altar with an unnamed woman.[83] Their punishment was to be joined together as "a dog is to a bitch" so that all could witness their crime. Perrot's penance was to mortify his flesh around the church and cemetery for three consecutive Sundays while recounting his tale to onlookers. The following chapter of the *exempla* tells a similar tale, but this time the offending male is Pigière, a monk from Poitou. On a Sunday before

mass, a particularly sacred time, the monk and his unidentified partner engaged in intercourse and remained joined until the entire community—including Pigière's uncle—could witness the offense.[84] This was a particularly serious crime since it was a violation not only of space but of time and person as well. Pigière's humiliation was so great that he left the monastic com munity. Such embarrassing anecdotes served didactically to emphasize for his audience of young girls the dangers of inappropriate sex.

An especially dramatic fictional account of the repercussions of sex in sacred places is recorded in the thirteenth-century *Lancelot-Grail*.[85] One Wednesday in Holy Week preceding Easter Sunday the lord of castle Escalon had sex with a maiden in a church.[86] In response to the prayers of a holy hermit to whom the Holy Spirit revealed the sacrilege God struck the lovers dead as they embraced. The church was soon abandoned by the community and the castle plunged into darkness. The only source of light remaining in the castle walls was the glow that hovered over the remains of the holy bodies buried in the cemetery. The church became a pit of squalor where devils or spirits transported to the nave the corpses of all those who had died during the past seventeen years. The description of the cold, dark, and fetid church appears to be an allegory for pre-Christian time that enables the story's hero, Lancelot, to take on a Christ-like importance as he delivers the townspeople of Escalon from darkness:

> all the people of the castle…were coming up to Lancelot in great excitement and hailing him as joyously as they would have hailed God himself. They were thin and pale, as if they had been in prison (and so, of course, they had), and their eyes were pained by all the light.[87]

The story is also a powerful message of what life is like for those who have alienated God. Perhaps it was intended as a metaphor for excommunication. A literal reading of the story reveals the superiority of spiritual love to physical love as the self-sacrificing love Lancelot has for his woman enables him alone to endure the test of Escalon and proves to be the strength that empowers him to restore the profaned town to God's favor. Despite that he is a known adulterer, albeit repentant, Lancelot's spiritual love for his lady is clearly superior to the physical love of the lord and maiden.

La Tour Landry's horrific anecdotes and the fictional tale of Escalon the Dark send a powerful message about the catastrophic consequences of having extramarital sexual relations in a church (if the message just was about adulterous affairs in non-sacred spaces, Lancelot would be an unlikely choice as hero). Intercourse between the married, however, raised more complex issues. Recent research on the subject of sex in holy places suggests that from the thirteenth century to the end of the Middle Ages the consensus of canon lawyers was that spouses were obliged to fulfill their marital debt in a sacred place if ever called upon to do so.[88] This is not to say that all thirteenth-,

fourteenth-, and fifteenthcentury people who wrote on the subject were in agreement. But marriage and intention could be mitigating factors to such a profanation. Some canonists believed that sex between man and wife polluted holy places less than sex between unmarried people; others believed that conjugal relations did not pro fane a church at all.[89] Further complicating the issue was the intention of the spouses. Some writers argued that only the exacting party sinned and that the submitting party was sinless. But the thirteenth-century Dominican friar and bishop Albert the Great argued that even the exacting party was sinless if s/he was truly sorry.[90] The most important issue in all of this, however, was the state of the church after the act and whether it should be reconciled or reconsecrated. The story of the cold, dark church and the dolorous townspeople in *Lancelot-Grail* is a stark simile of what it is like to live in a community tainted by the sin of fornication and severed from God.

CONCLUSION

Consecration purified and reserved space, setting it apart from mundane activity and dedicating it to God. The ecclesiastical use of *paradisus,* a word that can also symbolize a realm between heaven and earth, to identify the vestibule or porch of a church suggests that the space to the east (the interior of the church) was heavenly.[91] Certainly Suger agreed with this thinking. Speaking of the dedication of St. Denis the abbot asserted that those who celebrated in the abbey church felt "as though they were already dwelling, in a degree, in Heaven while they sacrifice[d]."[92] One of the chartrain *Miracles* even refers to Chartres as a *regnum Dei*—a kingdom of God.[93]

The west-to-east hierarchy of space seen most clearly in the division of nave/choir/sanctuary could be reinforced by vertical separation of these spaces. At Chartres (as in other churches) height was used to signify sacredness: stairs separated the nave from the choir, the choir from the sanctuary, and the sanctuary from the main altar, the most sacred part of the church. On special days the *sancta camisia* was raised high above all these levels, set upon a great dais under which adoring pilgrims could pass. Both horizontal and vertical axes of churches were manipulated to create hierarchies of reserved and holy places. This was the architectural expression of the clerical ideal.

Yet the reality was very different. Although non-liturgical activities were not always forbidden in churches, they created tension in spaces idealized by the clergy. Naves, porches, and cemeteries appear to have been especially prone to mundane use, though the arrangement of Chartres' choir suggests that this space could be subject to worldly use by clergy as well.

There are various explanations for the earthly use of heavenly space. Many pilgrims felt compelled to spend the night near the relics whose sacred energy they hoped to tap. In addition, searching for costly lodging might have

been more than many pilgrims could bear. Since they were often the largest buildings around, churches beckoned those who needed large (and preferably enclosed) spaces for legal proceedings. In addition, their central location as well as their immunity from secular taxes made them attractive to merchants who sought a strategic position from which to sell their wares. As the focal points of their towns, churches were often hubs of a variety of social exchange, and as buildings whose nooks offered privacy in a very public world, these sacred places were sometimes used by lovers yearning to evade prying eyes.

How might we understand this tension? Although the space of the buildings reflected the social division of the clergy from the laity, nevertheless nonliturgical activities occurred in both "churches." The clergy promoted one meaning of the church building as liturgical space, but the realities of life demanded that churches deviated from the clerical vision of heavenly Jerusalems. The realities of mundane life encroached on these temples. Treasuries had to be guarded, and the guardians had to be rested and fed. Canons had to be woken up at regular intervals to observe the offices. And buildings had to be protected from people and animals, which could compromise their integrity at any given time. The clergy had to be vigilant in defending its territorial conquests against outside threats. Further, the danger might come from within the clerical ranks as is suggested by the story of a Cistercian novice who converted to monastic life for no other reason than to steal from his church's treasury.[94]

The necessities of life compelled laypeople to compromise the sanctity of church buildings as well. Quests for cheap lodging, avoidance of secular taxation, social exchange, need for sanctuary, healing, and shelter encouraged laypeople to compromise the clerical ideal. As Gurevich has noted, "[t]he vulgarized and frequently distorted tenets of popular Catholicism included also a powerful layer of behaviour patterns, views of the world and ways of thought that had little in common with the tenets taught by the priests."[95] According to Murray, there were a number of reasons for this. Generally the poor were so burdened by their labor that they rarely went to church.[96] Even when people managed to attend, the dirty and noisy atmospheres of some churches were often less than ideal for spiritual reflection. The thirteenth-century Dominican preacher Humbert of Romans refers to the pigs, dogs, and other animals that wandered into churches and left nasty messes behind.[97] Chatterers, loiterers, and merchants also disrupted the concentration of worshippers, perpetuating disrespectful behavior by interfering with instruction and offering competing focuses of attention that in the eyes of the clergy compromised the dignity of their consecrated places.[98] Further, pilgrims to holy shrines who had been ill for a long period of time (perhaps even chronically) might know little or nothing about clerical expectations of lay behavior in churches.[99]

The lack of rigid separation between sacred and profane in the Middle Ages complicates and enriches the study of secular use of sacred places. Since the nave was often understood to be shared—or even held—by the laity, the opportunity for and tolerance toward such uses varied. As the Middle Ages wore on, however, sacred and profane gradually became more rigidly defined and clergy sought to differentiate themselves from laity. Chartres engaged in this process when in the late twelfth century the clergy separated themselves from the laity by allowing only clerks or regular clergy *(clericis vel personis regularem vitam professis)* to live in the cathedral's cloister.[100] Although the chapter complained specifically about jongleurs *(joculatoribus),* gamesters *(aleatoribus),* tavern keepers *(cauponibus),* and loose women *(mulieribus turpibus)* who rented houses in the cloister, it considered any lay ownership of cloister property dangerous on account of the laity's ability to compromise the canons' vision of an upright Christian community.[101] The canons' plan to close the cloister, which they had begun in the eleventh century, was finally realized by the mid-fourteenth century.[102] The conclusion will posit that Chartres was not alone in its attempt to "delaicize" its cathedral and cloister and that the canons' efforts were part of a greater movement that included the architectural and intellectual separation of religious and secular jurisdictions and, by extension, the gradual decline in clerical consideration of churches as integrated human bodies—human or otherwise.

Chapter Four
Body as Champion of Church Authority and Sacred Place
The Murder of Thomas Becket

ALTHOUGH HUMAN BODIES COULD CHALLENGE THE SACRED QUALITY OF church buildings, they also were champions of Church authority.[1] This second function of the body is especially evident in the documents that record the murder in 1170 of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.[2] Although Becket was not a prelate at Chartres, his close friend, advisor, and chronicler, John of Salisbury, was later to become the bishop of Chartres "by the grace of God and the merits of the martyr St. Thomas," carrying with him the powerful memory and influence of his murdered friend into the office of prelate of Chartres.[3] John's predecessor, William of the White Hands, bishop from 1164–76 was perhaps Thomas' staunchest supporter among the French clergy. William, who at the time was also archbishop of Sens, placed Henry's continental lands under interdict after the martyrdom. In addition, Thomas Becket's influence pervaded Chartres after his murder in the very real presence of the archbishop's relics, transported to Chartres by John. Thus, in the ways that really resonated in medieval minds —through ties between individuals and remnants of holy bodies—Thomas Becket was to cast his shadow of influence far from Canterbury to touch Chartres, the great cathedral in the Beauce of France.

The sources for the murder narrate with various degrees of detail the political conflict between Thomas and the English king, Henry II, over the rights of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*.[4] The documents, however, are more than testimonies to the political discord that existed between the king and the primate of England; they are rich sources of medieval cultural history. Specifically, they reveal information about medieval attitudes toward bodies, in particular Thomas' consecrated body, and how it negotiated Church authority and the sacred place of Canterbury Cathedral in twelfth-century England.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE QUARREL

The conflict between Thomas and Henry had roots in the years immediately following the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066. In the early Middle Ages, the clergy had often been servants of both monarch and

pope. In post-conquest England, however, William more clearly articulated and legislated the relationship between king and clergy in an effort to remove ambiguities and emphasize royal ascendency.[5] Uta-Renate Blumenthal summarizes the relationship between monarch and clergy in the central Middle Ages by noting that the monarchy treated the lands of churches and abbeys like secular fiefs and that "the Conqueror, his sons, and perhaps his own grandson, Henry II, dominated until 1170 [the year of Thomas' murder] what could be called a national Church."[6] There were times when the king's domination was challenged. For example, some seventy years earlier Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, maintained that his allegiance to the pope took priority over his obedience to the king, even though England had little contact with Rome.[7] For this belief Anselm was exiled from England in 1097 and after a brief reconciliation again in 1103.[8] Anselm's protest did not substantially increase Roman influence in the English Church and aside from a brief period during King Stephen's shaky reign (1135–54) the English Church remained isolated from Rome until Becket's death.[9]

The issue of clerical allegiance continued to surface in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thirteen years after Anselm's second exile Thurstin, archbishop of York, left England under similar circumstances.[10] King Stephen widened the hostilities by fighting with the archbishops of Canterbury and York, both of whom he banished in 1148.[11] A number of years later the same king clashed with Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, forcing him to flee the country in 1152.[12] When Thomas left England in 1164 he was following the precedent of a number of archbishops who had protested royal domination of the English Church.

The specific issue that sent Thomas into exile was his violation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, a collection of privileges and customs of Henry I and his barons that Henry II wanted to maintain and reissued in 1164.[13] Although Thomas and Henry fought over a number of smaller issues related to the central question of how to balance the competing jurisdictions of ecclesiastical and royal powers, the poker that stirred the embers into a blaze was the rivalry of the Church and crown. During Stephen's reign the jurisdiction of the Church had expanded and, as Henry later saw it, came to encroach on the rights of his royal courts.[14] Henry argued that clerks (including those in lower orders) who were found guilty of secular crimes were being treated too leniently by the ecclesiastical courts in which they were tried.[15] Clause three of the Constitutions which expresses this complaint reads:

> Clerks cited and accused of any matter shall, when summoned by the king's justice, come before the king's court to answer there concerning matters which shall seem to the king's court to be answerable there, and before the ecclesiastical court for what shall seem to be answerable

> there, but in such a way that the justice of the king shall send to the court of holy Church to see how the case is there tried. And if the clerk shall be convicted or shall confess, the Church ought no longer to protect him.[16]

Thomas objected to the Constitutions because they professed the king to be the head of the English Church and its ultimate decision maker. Although at first Thomas reluctantly accepted the Constitutions, he soon after reneged, judging his earlier acquiescence so harshly that he punished himself for compromising his principles.[17]

Relations between Becket and Henry soured further in September of the same year when John fitzGilbert brought a suit in Thomas' baronial court concerning a parcel of land on one of Thomas' demesne manors.[18] John did not receive satisfaction in that case and therefore appealed the decision to the court of Thomas' superior, the king. Henry's court then summoned Thomas to appear on September 14, but the archbishop neither appeared nor sent a proper essoin.[19] The following month Thomas was again summoned, this time as a contumacious baron, to answer various charges in the royal court at Northampton.[20] When royal patience completely ran out, the secular court condemned Thomas for contumacy, forcing the archbishop to forfeit his chattels, a sentence quashed, however, by Pope Alexander III a few months later.[21] Henry was now at full boil and retaliated immediately by bringing other charges against Thomas, including that of failing to observe the ancient customs of the realm.[22] Emotions were so wrought up that royal threats were being voiced, and Thomas was warned that the king was considering jailing or killing him, although the seriousness of these early threats is unknown.[23] The trial ended quickly when Thomas, fearing for his life, fled to France, "deliberately [leaving] behind his usually inseparable priestly stole (temporarily suspending himself from priestly functions) and [taking] only his pallium and seals, symbols of his governmental authority."[24] For the next six years Becket would wage his campaign for the rights of the English Church from France.

Between 1164 and 1170 Thomas and Henry continued their contest over jurisdiction from opposite sides of the English Channel. They were reconciled in July of 1170 at Fréteval, near the Franco-Norman border. Thomas prepared to return to England that fall but not without trepidation. Indeed, it seems that many English people opposed his return. If the archbishop were reinstated, land that had been confiscated in his absence would have to be returned, those who participated in the coronation of young King Henry by the archbishop of York would have to suffer punishment, and the monks of Canterbury would have to take responsibility for revealing to Ranulf de Broc, the royal custodian of the see, "anything said or done in Thomas' favour in the secret meetings of the chapter."[25] At the end of November—perhaps the last day of the month—Thomas sailed for England.

The weeks that followed Thomas' landing at Sandwich on or about the first of December bristled with conflicts. The de Broc family had blockaded Canterbury, hoping to catch Thomas outside of the town (which would have been a violation of young Henry's edict that prohibited Thomas from leaving the city).[26] They kept a close eye on all who came and went and even hunted on his grounds, mutilating one of his animals in the process.[27] The following week young King Henry refused to see Thomas and requested that Thomas refrain from visiting royal cities and manors but remain in Canterbury. Thomas, however, did not return to Canterbury directly from Winchester and objected to the young king's dictum on the ground that confmement to the city would prevent him from carrying out his spiritual duties. In mid-December Thomas attempted direct communication, sending a messenger to court who, however, was denied access to the elder king. The messenger was forced to present Thomas' five grievances to royal servants:

> Clerks were not being allowed benefit of clergy. The restoration of the archbishopric, as it had been held by Thomas three months before his departure, and of the honour of Saltwood, both of which had been promised at the peace [at Fréteval], had not been implemented—also the archbishop's houses had been vandalized, the hays emptied of game, the trees felled, the peasants ruined by tallages, the estates pillaged and the heirs disinherited. Ranulf de Broc had destroyed the archbishop's ships and seized his wine. The archbishop's churches were still occupied by the intruders. And, finally, clerks were being prevented from both leaving and entering the kingdom.[28]

Relations between Becket, the king, and their respective supporters were becoming more strained as the month wore on. Henry's side accused Thomas of disturbing the kingdom.[29] Rumors circulated briskly, and by December 19 William of Canterbury had reported to Thomas the words of Reginald of Cornwall, the king's earl, who warned that Thomas, John of Salisbury, and a number more of the archbishop's men were in grave danger. John cried when he heard the report. "But Thomas stretched out his neck, tapped it lightly with the palm of his hand and said, 'This is where the varlets will get me.'"[30]

The archbishop soon sent a number of men to the continent to notify his supporters, the king of France and the archbishop of Sens, both of whom had backed Thomas during his exile, as well as Pope Alexander that the terms of the peace had not been observed.[31] King Henry and his party constructed their defense to minimize the effects of Thomas' complaints. Thomas' punishment of the bishops who had participated in the coronation of the young King Henry was very much on the minds of the royalists, who maintained that these bishops had done no wrong.[32] They argued that Thomas was in the wrong when he suspended the bishops, for by doing so he was ignoring the ancient customs of the kingdom and committing treason

by insulting the two kings.[33] Many began to believe that while Thomas lived there would be no peace in England. This sentiment might have needled Henry to utter the ambiguous plaint that may well have precipitated the assassination:

> What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and promoted in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born clerk.[34]

This sentence, which Henry probably spoke on Christmas Day, sealed the archbishop's fate.

The four barons who interpreted these words as a challenge and who plotted Becket's death, Hugh de Morville, Reginald fitzUrse, Richard le Bret, and William de Tracy, were technically part of an official royal mission to the archbishop.[35] They had traveled from the Angevin court at Bur-le-Roi and arrived at Saltwood castle on December 28. Their plan was to travel to Canterbury, surround the cathedral complex, and restrain Thomas.[36] Once they had the archbishop in their grip they intended to pressure him to absolve the bishops, observe the customs, and perhaps even notify him that he would be brought to trial.[37] They left Saltwood early on the twenty-ninth and probably arrived at Canterbury two or three hours later.[38]

The barons met Thomas in his palace and announced that they had an important communication from the king urging him to go to Winchester to make satisfaction to the young king.[39] At first Thomas was unclear what this entailed and explained that he had tried unsuccessfully to greet the younger Henry on his return from France; if Reginald was suggesting that the archbishop should go there for a trial, Thomas said he would not, because he was innocent of any wrongdoing. Barlow summarizes the ensuing exchange between Thomas and the royalists:

> The barons then made the stock royalist charges against the archbishop: his breaking the peace after his return to England by suspending and excommunicating the prelates, excommunicating royal servants and threatening to un-crown and disinherit the new king. To which Thomas made his stock replies: they were papal sentences and the pope was punishing the wrongs done to the church of Canterbury and its archbishop; and no one was intending to invalidate the coronation. As for the bishops, he had already offered them merciful terms, which they had refused, and the offer was still open. In any case, what he had done was with the king's permission, as Reginald, and all others who had been at Fréteval, knew full well. Reginald, however, denied either that he had been there or that Henry had given permission.[40]

The exchange blossomed into a shouting match of insults and threats, capped when Reginald fitzUrse asserted that it was clear the archbishop no longer enjoyed the king's peace and protection. FitzUrse then ordered that the monks present should ensure that Thomas did not escape again until such a time as the king could make his decision. As Reginald left after arresting two archiepiscopal knights, William fitzNeal and Ralf Morin, Thomas shouted after them:

> Do you think I'm going to sneak off? I haven't returned to Canterbury in order to run away. You'll find me here. And in the Lord's battle I will fight hand to hand, toe to toe.[41]

And in an act that may suggest Thomas was not yet fully determined to be a martyr, he asked Hugh de Morville, whom he knew best, to return to his chamber so that they could discuss the matter further—a request which was ignored.[42]

The denouement was close when the barons then sealed off the palace from the town and let in the rest of the royal soldiers, announcing themselves to be "the king's men." Most of the people in the palace (with the exception of Becket and his advisors) ran into the church. Chaos erupted as the soldiers entered the palace so that Thomas and his men heard the commotion. Thomas' advisors suggested they seek sanctuary in the church but the archbishop refused. A combination of pleas to escape, requests to attend vespers, and physical force enabled his council to remove him from the palace and get him to the church, but not without difficulty for the archbishop would not throw away his dignity by scampering for safety.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the murder precisely as it happened, it is possible to draw a general picture of the event.[43] After much persuasion from his supporters, Thomas entered the church through the north transept.[44] The barons pursued, entering the cathedral through the same door. They demanded where they might find the traitor. Thomas, who was walking east in the transept, paused and answered that he was not a traitor but God's priest. The barons hearing him made their way toward the archbishop, voicing threats against his life. A scuffle ensued when they tried to arrest him. Thomas, along with Edward Grim, a monk who happened to be present although not one of the archbishop's intimates, resisted the barons. The verbal and physical efforts to force Thomas out of the church (it is unclear whether to be arrested or murdered) escalated; in the mounting violence Thomas, realizing he was about to be killed, commended himself to God, the Virgin, St. Denis, and the patron saints of the church.[45] One of the barons, probably Reginald fitzUrse, raised his sword and struck the archbishop on the head.[46] The second blow, probably inflicted by William de Tracy, drove Becket to the ground. While he lay on the floor another knight, perhaps Richard le Bret, finished the job by completely severing the crown from

Becket's head, shattering his sword on the stone paving in the process. Before the barons fled the carnage, Hugh of Horsea (a subdeacon also known as Mauclerc) stuck his sword into the gaping opening of Thomas' head and with its point smeared the archbishop's blood and brains across the church floor. By 4:30 that afternoon Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, lay dead on the paving stones of his own cathedral.[47]

THOMAS' BODY AS CHAMPION OF CHURCH AUTHORITY AND SACRED PLACE

Thomas' murder offers an unparalleled opportunity to observe the dynamic relationship between church building and human body, the two facades of Christian sacred place, and how they could simultaneously coexist in one person. The narratives of the murder reveal that all parts of Thomas' body were not equal. Although medieval people believed that a person's head was a particularly important part of the body because it contained the soul, Thomas' head was yet that much more special since it was the locus of an archiepiscopal consecration.[48] Durandus writes that the sacred unction of a bishop is applied to his head since in his pontiflcal office he represents the head of the Church, Christ.[49] Durandus notes that although bishops and kings are anointed, only bishops are anointed on the head. The consecration of this body part signifies the dominant power bishops have over the Christian body.[50] Durandus maintains that since the time of Christ kings have been anointed on the arm or shoulder, parts of the rulers' bodies that represented their powers.[51] So when Edward Grim describes the prelude to the first blow, he writes that the infuriated knight "brandished his sword against the sacred head" *(contra sacrum verticem)*.[52] Grim's belief in the specialness of the archbishop's head is made more explicit in his description of the attack itself: Reginald fitzUrse "suddenly sprung up against [Thomas] and, shaving off the summit of the crown which the unction of the sacred chrism dedicated to God, he wounded the lamb that had to be sacrificed to God in the head…."[53] Grim's account continues that Thomas "presented his body to the attackers so that he might preserve his head—that is his soul and the church… ."[54] This is a curious statement since the author had just recounted the first blow to Thomas' head unless Grim saw Thomas as having two parts to his head. One was part of his natural body, the part that Grim witnessed being severed. The other part of Thomas' head contained his spirit or his *anima,* a dichotomy shared by all people. But Thomas' role as priest enriched the metaphor further so that his spiritual head contained more than his soul. As the archbishop of Canterbury he was also a church *(ecclesia)* and the focus of this manifestation was in his consecrated head. Thomas' sacrifice for his Church, therefore, is a confirmation of René Girard's theory that all victims of sacrifice bear a resemblance to the objects for which they give their

lives.[55] William fitzStephen, the archbishop's hagiographer, relates a dream Matilda, Thomas' mother, had when she was pregnant:

> The Lord knew and predestined the blessed Thomas [to His service] before he ever issued from the womb and revealed to his mother what manner of man he would be. For during pregnancy she saw in a dream that she carried in her womb the whole church of Canterbury.[56]

This message is repeated in a marginal illustration of an early fourteenth-century psalter in which an artist has depicted the baptism of Thomas' mother. One of the four men accompanying Matilda holds a small church in his hand—a symbol of the child she is to bear (Pl. 7). The following folio contains a symmetrical marginal illustration of Thomas' consecration (Pl. 8). In this image Thomas is also flanked by four men. Yet the church is noticeably absent because through his archiepiscopal consecration Thomas has become Canterbury Cathedral. Grim seems to be suggesting, therefore, that Thomas sacrificed his natural body (including his head) in order to protect his spirit and the church that resided in him.

Thomas' sacrifice invited parallels between the archbishop and Christ. To suggest that Thomas was a church was to invoke the biblical verses that affirm Christ as head and savior of the Church body.[57] Like Christ, Thomas became the pillar and head of the church. Garnier sees the pillar near which Thomas was killed as a symbol of Christ who supports the Church and of Thomas who supports the cathedral:

> Then the sons of the devil took hold of him and began to tug and pull at him, and tried to heave him up onto William's shoulders, for they wanted to get him out of there, and kill or bind him; but they could not get him away from the pillar. For Saint Thomas was set firm against that Pillar who died on the cross to establish his church, and from this Pillar no one could ever detach him. But now the people's salvation demanded that one man be given over to death, beside the pillar of the church.[58]

It was fitting, then, that the barons could not remove the human Pillar (Thomas), who was joined to Christ the spiritual (Pillar), from a stone pillar in the north transept. Garnier writes that "[t]hose who ought more than any others to have protected holy church, were trying to destroy her and her members, to bring that Pillar and the Head which it supported crashing to the ground."[59]

Herbert of Bosham, one of Thomas' closest companions, conflates the cities of Jerusalem and Canterbury:



Plate 7. British Museum Royal MS 2 B. vii, 289: The Baptism of Thomas Becket's Mother. *(Reprinted by permission of the British Museum.)*

> Had you seen it, you would certainly have said that the Lord was a second time approaching His Passion, and that, amidst the rejoicing of children and the poor, He, who died once at Jerusalem for the salvation of the whole world, was now again ready to die a second time at Canterbury for the English Church.[60]

As Jean-Pierre Perrot notes, God had chosen both men to participate in salvific plans.[61] Beyond linking Canterbury to Jerusalem Herbert argues that the archbishop suffered for the English Church. Thomas was the new Christ, but the focus of the salvation he offered was not universal but was geographically limited to England. As Jerusalem was the navel of the medieval universe, Canterbury was the spiritual center of the English realm.[62]

David Knowles wonders if Thomas had the rhythm of Christ's Good Friday reproaches in mind when William of Canterbury has him say "Reginald, Reginald, I've done you many favors. You dare to engage me armed?"[63] John of Salisbury also notes a similarity between the words Thomas and Christ spoke during their passions. "Didn't his words appear to imitate Christ's when during the passion he said, 'If you seek me, allow them to leave?'"[64] William fitzStephen reports that Thomas shared Christ's last words, "Into thy hand, O Lord, I commend my spirit," though we are left to wonder if it was Thomas or William or both who had the biblical precedent



Plate 8. British Museum Royal MS 2 B. vii, 290: The Consecration of Thomas Becket. *(Reprinted by permission of the British Museum.)*

in mind.[65] Although the archbishop could have certainly seen himself as a second Christ, these passages might have been added by the narrators who were—whether consciously or unconsciously— echoing deeply internalized texts in pursuit of political agendas.

The similarities between Christ's crucifixion and Thomas' murder multiply in the hands of the narrators. In the Gospels, nature signals the death of Christ while at Thomas' death:

> the sun averted its eyes, hid its rays, concealed the day, so that it might not see this wicked deed, and a terrible storm encroached on the sky, rain poured suddenly, and it thundered from the heavens. Afterward a great copper red appeared, as a sign of the shed blood….[66]

As the sky darkened and Thomas lay dead in his cathedral, the king's knights plundered the archbishop's palace. The knights who killed the archbishop "divided [his things] between them, made imitators of them who divided up between themselves the clothes of Christ, for it was permitted to them to exceed in wickedness those [men]."[67] Finally, the story of the terrible crime ends at the crypt tomb in which Becket's body will rest, a tomb hewn from rock that has never contained a body.[68]

Beyond being the new Christ and, to some degree, a manifestation of the church (pillar and head), Thomas, like all priests, was the spouse of the female church. In other words, he was not only the church and part of the

church but, at one and the same time, he was married to her female nature. FitzStephen remarks that "The sons slew their father in the womb of their mother."[69] It is this mother who mourns her slain spouse. The anthropomorphized church weeps and "cries constantly for a long time."[70] She is also silent; her bells do not ring.[71] Her general appearance reveals intense grief "with the ornaments removed from the altar, and with the walls bare everywhere the appearance of the [church] represented sorrow…."[72] "The house of our sanctification has been abandoned; the lady of the people waits in sorrow; all her friends scorn her, and none from all her beloved people console her."[73]

Thomas' bride is physically changed at the time of his death. Although she suffers, she also gains strength, because when he is attacked, the sacred energy from Thomas' head is released to the church building. Grim offers an eerie image when he writes:

> the blood turns white with the brain and the brain turns no less red from the blood, enpurpling *[purpuraret]* the face of the church with the colors of the lily and the rose, of the Virgin and Mother, and with the life and death of the martyr and confessor.[74]

Although technically Thomas was not a martyr, his supporters saw him as one.

> Was his death, then, that of a martyr? If we use the word in its original Christian sense, we must say "No". He did not die a witness to the Resurrection of Jesus, or in defence of any specified article of the creed or point of Christian morality. It has, indeed, sometimes been said that he died for a novel extension of canon law, or to recover Canterbury property, or because he had upheld an unessential right of the archbishop of Canterbury.[75]

As the defender of Christian hierarchy, administration, and political power, Thomas was a martyr of the institutional Church. His *causa* represents the struggle of the structural (as opposed to the communal) Church in medieval society. Thomas' energies were not solely focused on living a life based on the New Testament (as were those of St. Francis of Assisi, for example). This is not to say that the archbishop was not a spiritual man, but his concerns often reflected the worldliness of his earlier life. It is fitting, therefore, that the most significant change that Thomas' persistence reaped for the Church was the expansion of papal jurisdiction.[76]

Medieval people expressed a variety of opinions about blood—including blood spilled in holy places. The *Decretum* clearly states that an effusion of blood in a church required that the church be consecrated anew.[77] Yet

Durandus' thirteenth-century *Rationale* maintains that the intentional shedding of blood warrants only reconciliation:

> A church is reconciled from homicide whether accompanied by an effusion of blood or not…. If, however, [blood] flows without violence either from an old injury to the nose or the mouth, or by bloodletting… or by menstruation, or in any other natural way in the church—either by accident in a game or in any other accidental manner—or if any animal is killed there, or if anyone should suddenly die there by his own hand, or is killed by falling stone or wood or lightning, on behalf of these and similar things it is not reconciled. Nor indeed if anyone wounded flees to the church and there in a great effusion of blood dies, since then the homicide was not perpetrated in the church.[78]

Thomas' blood, however, was different. John of Salisbury exposes the contradiction between the barons' wicked deed and Thomas' sacred blood when he notes that sacraments were suspended at Canterbury because the church had been violated—or rather consecrated—by bloodshed *(violata fuerat, vel potius consecrata)*,[79] The need to reconcile Canterbury, which wasn't done until almost a year later, was not an issue of ritual purity.[80] Thomas' blood itself did not profane the church. Instead it was the knights' crime, what Benedict calls the shameful parricide *(parricidali flagitio)* that had polluted the cathedral.[81] In fact, Benedict maintains that the Canterbury monks did not have to anoint Thomas' body with perfumes since God had arranged for Thomas to be anointed with his own blood.[82] Indeed, Garnier believes that Thomas' blood purified the church. His circular argument is that Thomas, as the head's (church's) head, had to be sacrificed in order to purify the church of the sin of murder.[83] Ralph of Diss states that the cathedral's honor was restored through repeated miracles mediated by Thomas' relics.[84] Ralph does maintain, however, that the church's reconciliation, which occurred almost a year later, was necessary to restore it to purity.[85]

Thomas' murder during the Octave of Christmas was particularly shocking because as well as profaning a person and place, it compounded the sin by violating a sacred trinity of time, space, and body. That Thomas was killed within the eight days following the Nativity, a time reserved for the celebration of the birth of Christ, did not escape those who wrote about the murder: Garnier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence suggests that the murderers were aware of the season for it was on Christmas Eve that Henry's knights swore the season would not protect their intended victim.[86] William fitzStephen writes that some of the archbishops companions believed the barons would do no harm because they were assured the king's peace at Christmastide.[87] John of Salisbury mentions that the murder was not committed during a profane time but on a day reserved for the celebration of Christmas.[88]

The location of the murder also deeply offended the writers. William fitzStephen suggests that Thomas' murderers were parricides ([t]he sons slew their father in the womb of their mother) since the church building, an anthropomorphized female body, was wife and mother forced to witness her sons murder their father.[89] In order for William to express his feelings about the slaughter of his friend and master, he has to access vocabularies of intimacy—words that evoke images of family and body. In so doing William demonstrates the particular horror of the murder. The men who killed Thomas were guilty of not only taking the natural life of their spiritual father but also of violating the consecrated space of the cathedral, the womb of spiritual life.

William, however, is not the only biographer to comment on the location of the murder. Drawing a distinction between Christ's crucifixion—which occurred outside Jerusalem proper—and Thomas' murder, John of Salisbury emphasizes the heinousness of the crime and remarks that not only was Thomas killed inside the city but inside the church itself.[90] Edward Grim reports that the knights had intended to drag Thomas outside the walls of the church there to kill or imprison him; the assassins apparently realized that their crime would be compounded if they killed the archbishop in a consecrated place.[91] William of Canterbury adds that the knights' fear of Thomas' rescue by the townspeople persuaded them not to force Becket out of the cathedral.[92] Of all the narrators it is Garnier who seems to be most sensitive to the location of the murder; his narrative is sprinkled with references to the sacrilege committed in holy church ["And so holy church was profaned and desecrated."][93]

Although the time and place of Thomas' murder was shocking, it was the attack on his body that truly seared the narrators' sensibilities. This was still the case by the thirteenth century when the Italian Dominican Thomas Aquinas wrote that there were two categories of sacrilegious acts: the more serious, which warranted major excommunication, included the violation of a sacred person; any other sacrilegious deeds (with the exception of burning or wrecking a church) called for minor excommunication.[94] Thus, according to Aquinas, it was still the case in the thirteenth century that the offense against Thomas' body would have been seen as much worse than the violation of season and sacred place.

Through the murder of her head and spouse Canterbury Cathedral was changed; one might suggest that Christendom itself would never quite be the same (certainly, Chartres Cathedral felt the impact). Objects and areas of Canterbury touched by Thomas' blood or corpse became special.

> While the body still lay on the pavement, some of [the townspeople] smeared their eyes with blood. Others brought bottles and carried off secretly as much of it as they could. Others cut off shreds of clothing and dipped them in the blood. At a later time no one was thought happy

> who had not carried off something from the precious treasure of the martyr's body.[95]

His blood, it appears, was carried far and wide. There is record of it being at Chartres within ten years of Thomas' death in a letter written in the late 1170s by John of Salisbury, newly ordained bishop of Chartres, to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and his chapter and clergy.[96] In it John tells the story of Peter, a poor tenant of Count Theobald of Chartres. One day Peter was working with fellow stonecutters at the abbey of Saint-Père at Chartres. The workers were commenting with awe on stories of miracles Thomas had performed. Peter, however, doubted Thomas' power and ridiculed the saint. After daring Thomas to afflict him, Peter returned home. Shortly thereafter Peter lost his ability to speak and became disoriented. Friends and neighbors dragged him to the cathedral. Bishop John, just recently returned, saw the stricken man begging forgiveness by raising his hands toward the *sancta camisia*. John ordered that the phial in which he had placed the blood of St. Thomas be brought. After reciting a prayer John asked Peter to kiss the phial whose power would mediate the sick man's cure. Peter cried out to St. Thomas in joy and then drank the water in which John had washed Thomas' phial and knife. Peter was so grateful that he made a pilgrimage to Canterbury to thank Thomas, carrying John's letter of testimony with him.

Thomas' knife appears again in the chartrain *Miracles* when the guardian of the relics helps cure a man who had been punished for cutting oats on a feast day. When the guardian touched his hands, which were stuck to a sickle and a sheaf, with Thomas' knife, they became detached.[97] Yves Delaporte notes that in the thirteenth century on the eve of the archbishop's feast a procession made its way to the chapel of St. Denis located in the crypt of Chartres Cathedral, presumably where the blood and the knife were kept.[98] On the feast day itself the cathedral clergy referred to the conflict between the archbishop and the king when it read from the *Passio alia secunde*. The congregation was told to "[r]ejoice for the blood of the new Abel crying to the Lord for himself against men of blood," which was quite possibly a reference to Thomas' and Henry's fraternal relationship that had soured after the former had been elevated by the latter to the archbishopric of Canterbury.[99] The *Passio* also establishes a connection between bloodshed and political discord:

> For from the clamor of this blood the earth has been moved and trembled and indeed the virtues of the heavens have been so moved as if a nation against nation, kingdom against kingdom, were to rise for the revenge of innocent blood and indeed so that a kingdom be divided within itself and that terrors and great signs should come from heaven.[100]

Maines suggests that this passage is a reference to the rebellion of Henry's sons in 1173, which the clergy believed to be heaven's retaliation for the martyrdom.[101] This interpretation might account for the willingness of the townspeo ple of Chartres to participate in the effort to overthrow the English king.[102]

Although Chartres was powerfully touched by the murdered prelate, it was at Canterbury that Becket's body would have the strongest presence. Even at the time of Thomas' death, the townspeople and the clergy of Canterbury expected that his body and blood would become mediators of local miracles. Anonymous I records that:

> with the crowd of people sent away from the church, the monks closed the doors and gathered the blood and the brain of the new martyr that had spilled on the pavement and stored [them] in vessels…. And they put vessels under [the body] to catch the blood that flowed; they were not ignorant that this was the most precious blood of a martyr, which had been spilled for the love of God and the liberty of the Church.[103]

Although spiritual benefits transferred to objects associated with the saint's figurative relics, his power would be focused in Canterbury Cathedral. The three areas that had the most intimate and extended contact with his corpse, the north transept where he was killed, the high altar where his body rested for a night, and the final place of burial, were membranes of the spiritual world, places where the barrier between saint and believer was thin. They were places where God via Thomas' intercession revealed his power in the temporal world. According to John of Salisbury:

> in the place of his passion, in the place before the high altar where he spent the night before he was buried, and in the place where at last he was buried, the paralyzed are cured, the blind see, the deaf hear, the mute speak, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the feverish come to, those seized by an evil spirit are liberated, the sick are cured of various diseases, the blasphemous who are seized by an evil spirit are made whole and, not since the days of our forefathers has this been heard of, the dead rise up….[104]

The places touched by Thomas' body carried high voltage holy charges. Finucane notes that after the archbishop's bones were translated in 1220 to a new shrine located on the cathedral's main level, pilgrims continued to visit Becket's empty tomb in the crypt which itself had become a relic.[105] The residual sanctity of Thomas' body was considered so powerful that when Benedict was transferred against his will to Peterborough Abbey in 1177, he brought with him the pavement stones on which Thomas had fallen. He later used the stones for two altars he had made there.[106] The stones, which had

borne the slain martyr's body, would now be part of the altars on which Christ's body was sacrificed and made anew. Despite the extraordinary holiness of physical spaces sanctified by Becket's death, reliquaries of Thomas' blood worked to decentralize the cult with the famous phials of the martyr's blood serving as perambulatory shrines.[107]

Thomas' body and blood were able to do for Canterbury what Chartres' clergy had hoped the *sancta camisia* would do for their cathedral: establish it as one of the most important pilgrimage sites in medieval Europe. The miracles associated with the martyr elevated Canterbury to one of the most holy pilgrimage sites of the Middle Ages.[108] The stories of Peter of Chartres in John of Salisbury's letter and of Guillaume of Lavardin, the laborer who violates St. Germain's feast day in the chartrain *Miracles,* demonstrate that the *sancta camisia* failed to negotiate cures that were then affected by Thomas' relics.[109] In John's account we read that Peter had been standing in front of the *sancta camisia* for some time without being cured; the blood of Thomas, however, restored him almost instantly:

> The dumb wretch was brought to me, beating his breast, raising hands and eyes to heaven, and to the shrine which contains the garment, the nightgown that is, of the Blessed Virgin, which she wore when she bore the Saviour. Those round us were in tears, and I myself and my companions could not refrain from weeping. I ordered the phial to be brought in which I had placed the blood of St. Thomas, which I brought to Chartres with me, and water with which the phial could be washed. We prayed a little before the relics, and when we had finished, I handed the phial to the wretched man to kiss. Instantly in a loud voice, which could be heard by all the bystanders, he cried out "St. Thomas, St. Thomas, have mercy on me." He drank the water in which I had washed the phial and the good martyr's knife; at once his former health returned…[110]

Guillaume had also remained under the chasse for a long time, to no avail.[111] Then a deacon named Gilon suggested that Guillaume and the crowd that followed him move to the place where the faithful make their offerings for the restoration of the church. In that location their hope should be placed.[112] The group moved in front of

> Saint Lubin's reliquary and, prostrating himself on the ground in tears, moaning, crying to the Lord, the glorious Mother, Saint Germain, Saint Lubin, the holy martyr Thomas (a little of whose blood as well as his knife are guarded there), and finally all the saints of God, in order to see the grace of God manifest in this man. The guardian of the relics, grabbing the knife, touched the right hand of the miserable man where the sickle

> had adhered. On contact, the fingers of the hand that had been stuck to the sickle detached.[113]

Next the guardian touched Guillaume's left hand with Thomas' knife thus effecting the separation from the sheaf.

Chartres was tightly linked to Thomas Becket in many ways.[114] The chartrain countryside had been crisscrossed by the steps of the pious exile who had first visited the diocese while still chancellor to King Henry.[115] Thomas had even prayed in the church that had been built by Bishop Fulbert.[116] John of Salisbury, Thomas' clerk, friend, and bishop of Chartres from 1176 to 1180, promoted a cult to Thomas.[117] In addition to bringing a phial of Thomas' blood to his cathedral, he carried to Chartres the sword of Hugh of Horsea, the man who had thrust his weapon into Thomas' head and smeared his blood and brains on the floor. (One scholar argues that this was the "knife" referred to in the *Miracles*.[118]) John had also consecrated a chapel to Thomas which would be one of many dedicated to the martyr in the diocese.[119] A number of visual representations in the cathedral suggest the importance of the devotion to St. Thomas at Chartres. Window six is topped by a large rose in which Thomas is flanked by two knights.[120] Window thirty-seven is devoted entirely to the archbishop with a medallion showing the French clergy leading Thomas to the boat that will carry him to his martyrdom.[121] A representation of Becket's martyrdom is sculpted on a pilaster of the south porch, while a figure in the eastern side portal of the south transept that was once thought to represent St. Ambrose actually might be a statue of Thomas.[122] (Pls. 9 and 10) As Maines notes, "[Thomas'] lightly held crozier piercing [Henry's] throat is the representation of the saint's triumph through martyrdom over the angry words which brought about his death…."[123] All of this visual evidence added to the two miracle stories from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries demonstrate that Chartres' pious propaganda enthusiastically embraced the Canterbury martyr.[124]

The political conflict that ultimately claimed Becket's life is reflected in the descriptions of his body. Thomas sacrificed his natural body and offered his blood so that the Church might be free from the power of the English monarchy. John of Salisbury writes that at the moment of his death Thomas said, "I embrace death freely, provided that the Church will obtain peace and liberty with the effusion of my blood."[125] Grim speaks of Thomas' blood "purpling" *(purpuraret)* the church.[126] The man who was Christ-like and a spiritual king charged the church building with his royal lifeblood. The color says something very powerful about Thomas and his church. Purple is a royal as well as an episcopal color. It is also the color of liturgical penitence and mourning. Becket's blood reifies his connection to Christ while emphasizing the sacramental quality of his life-giving death. Grim argues for Thomas'

prestige at the expense of Henry's authority while conveying Becket's sacrifice and Canterbury's grief.

The superiority of archiepiscopal power over royal authority is also stressed in the discussion of another royal symbol: the crown or *corona*. Grim plays on the word a number of times. The large and sacred crown of Thomas' head was the locus of his consecration as well as the part of his natural body that he sacrificed for the crown of immortality (and presumably martyrdom).[127] Grim says that:

> the invincible martyr, seeing that the hour which would bring the end to his miserable mortal life was at hand, and the crown of immortality already prepared for him and promised by God to be next, with his neck bent as if he were in prayer and with his joined hands elevated above, commended himself and the cause of the Church to God, St. Mary, and the blessed martyr St. Denis. He had barely finished speaking when the impious knight…set upon him suddenly, and shaving off the summit of his crown, which the unction of sacred chrism had consecrated to God, wounded the lamb sacrificed to God in the head….[128]

Benedict of Peterborough even speaks of Thomas as having a diadem of blood that may have foreshadowed his sanctity.[129] Henry's royal crown of gold and jewels paled in comparison to Thomas' bloody head.

The attack on Thomas' body was also an assault on the Church and the tradition it represented, and the accounts of Thomas' body during the martyrdom are laced with affirmation of ecclesiastical triumph. Benedict interprets the shattered sword that had severed Thomas' crown as evidence of ecclesiastical victory: "How indeed does the break of the sword of the adversaries appear except to signal the true ejection of hostile power and the victory of triumph through the blood of the Church's martyr?"[130] The same sword sent a similar message to William of Canterbury: "with the broken point the Lord showed that the Church would triumph in the blood of the martyrs, that malice would be overcome."[131] William read Becket's body, which was unblemished, as having overcome the assassins. The archbishop's

> [l]imbs were not trembling, there was no rigor in the body, nor was fluid flowing from the mouth or nose…the flexibility of his fingers, the arrangement of his limbs, the cheerfulness and integrity of his appearance announced the glorious man….[132]

Edward Grim differs, writing that Thomas' corpse was spattered with blood and brain. Becket's posture, however, emphasized his piety as his head *(caput)* was gathered into Abraham's spiritual bosom.[133] To Grim the archbishop sacrificed his body "so that the affairs of the Church might be



Plate 9. Chartres Cathedral: South Transept Facade, Right-Hand Portal. A Statue that might Represent Thomas Becket Piercing the Throat of King Henry II. *(Photo: James Raymond Blaettler, S.J.)*



Plate 10. Chartres Cathedral: South Transept Facade, Right-Hand Portal. Detail of a Statue that might Represent Thomas Becket Piercing the Throat of King Henry II. *(Photo: James Raymond Blaettler, S.J.)*

managed according to the paternal traditions and ordinances of the Church."[134] John of Salisbury also considered Thomas' body to be an offering, one that brought peace to his enemies' land.[135] John's perception of Thomas' sacrifice, therefore, conforms to Girard's theory that the purpose of sacrifice is to restore harmony to the community.[136] The hostility and violence that might have continued to target those who had fallen out of Henry's good graces was instead deflected onto Thomas, whose murder restored some degree of peace between England and the Roman Church.

The most intriguing expression of ecclesiastical triumph, however, was written by Benedict of Peterborough who recounts that an iron hammer as well as a double-edged ax was found underneath Becket's body. To Benedict this was a symbolic statement of Thomas' victory.[137] Benedict's choice of *malleolus* for hammer, a word which can also mean a recently planted vineyard, suggests that Thomas' purple blood was the newly planted fruit which would grow into the cathedral.[138] If *malleolus* was meant to be a double entendre, it is fitting that this sign of life be coupled with a *bisacuta,* a double sided ax. The former is a symbol of life and spirituality. The later is a weapon of death, wielded by secular officers. Did Becket's corpse not plant the seeds of spiritual life while overcoming bodily death?

Thomas was rapidly transformed from a living archbishop into an idealized martyr, changing his role in medieval society. He became an intercessor, a mediator of miracles. His body and the material with which it was vested bridged the journey from man to martyr. Before they prepared the body for burial some monks had doubted Thomas' sanctity.[139] But in removing the bloody clothes from the body the monks came upon a monastic cowl and shirt as well as a hair shirt and breeches riddled with lice and worms. The revelation of Becket's penitential garb and monastic clothing under his splendid archiepiscopal trappings powerfully affected the doubters. "Had his furs been of gris and vair and his underclothes of samite and silk there might easily have been no martyr. And it was probably because of the changed atmosphere that some monks, led by Arnold the Goldsmith, went to collect in a basin what remained of the archbishop's blood…."[140] During and just after Becket's murder his body revealed the superiority of his power, the just nature of his cause, and his relation to Christ himself. As the days wore on it became clear that his body and blood would serve as bridges between heaven and earth. Although King Henry and his supporters could not be reconciled with Thomas in life, the archbishop's transformation in death made this possible. Twelfth-century attitudes about holy bodies provided society with the elasticity necessary for the inevitable give and take between the competing jurisdictions of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*.

The sociologist Hans Mol argues that a relevant religion will "reflect, reconcile, and sublimate" the strains of its society.[141] The Becket affair suggests that Mol is right. Thomas and Henry's struggle reflected the competition between Church and secular authority that was a constant theme

in medieval culture. The process of reconciliation was both fascinating and complex. After Thomas paid the ultimate price for resisting the king, within two years Henry and the four assassins submitted to the Church for their penance. The royalists' penances were intended to extend Church authority, the very power against which they had agitated. For example, in 1171 Henry acted on the papal bull *Laudabiliter*, given to him by Pope Adrian IV in 1154, which sanctioned the Angevin conquest of Ireland. In a letter of approval Adrian writes:

> [We] are well pleased to agree that, for the extension of the boundaries of the Church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and for the implanting of virtues, and for the increase of the Christian religion, you may enter that island and perform therein the things that have regard to the honour of God and the salvation of that land….[142]

Both Adrian and his successor, Alexander III, had hoped that the king, while attending to political changes in his realm, would help them extend episcopal control in Ireland, a land that was heavily influenced by monasticism.[143] Henry disappointed Rome's hopes and the Irish Church retained its independence after his visit. Yet it is significant that at least on a superficial level Henry felt that it was politically correct to act on the bull. The king, who was not noted for being particularly religious, even called a synod across the Irish Sea.[144] One year after Thomas' murder Pope Alexander wrote a letter in response to Henry's intervention in Ireland in which he called him a "devoted son of the Church" and a "catholic and most Christian king." This may have seemed odd to those who were familiar with the Becket affair. But to the power brokers of twelfth-century Europe it was simply political expedience.

The English king made other gestures to appease the papacy. He contributed some 60,000 gold pieces to the defense of Jerusalem, and after the mid 1170s significantly increased his donations to churches.[145] Thomas would have been quite pleased to know that, according to the Concordat of Avranches, the peace treaty established in 1172 between Pope Alexander and King Henry, ecclesiastical cases could be appealed to Rome, bishops were no longer obliged to observe the customs of the realm, and clerical criminals were immune from secular jurisdiction.[146] These were the privileges that Becket struggled for most fiercely. Avranches marks a change in Henry's political nature, which had become less obstinate and insistent on royal privilege.[147] The king became a compromiser who made concessions while maintaining his own authority. England's Church was free once again to fit into Rome's orbit as Alexander III and his cardinals scrutinized the ancient customs of the realm.

Even the murderers were coopted into acknowledging ecclesiastical authority. The Church required that the murderers crusade in the Holy Land

as penance for their crime, and Barlow notes that although many believed that all four died "soon, in, or on the way to, the Holy Land," this may not have been the case.[148] Though the fates of the barons remain uncertain, there is evidence that at least two of their descendants paid tribute to the Canterbury martyr. The grandson of Reginald fitzUrse, who was also a relative of William de Tracy, founded the Augustinian priory of Woodspring in Thomas' honor.[149] One of the de Broc family, perhaps even Ranulf himself, founded a chapel in Thomas' honor in the castle of Vernay at Airvault in Poitou.[150] But perhaps most significantly a number of the many miracles attributed to Thomas actually benefitted his enemies. Ward points out that

> [w]hat impressed [Thomas'] chroniclers about St Thomas was…that he worked miracles for his enemies: for Henry II, in the victory over Scotland at the time of his penance; in a cure of both a servant of Gilbert Foliot and of Foliot himself; and in the cure of a member of the De Broc family, one of whom had assisted in his death.[151]

Thomas' role as a thaumaturgical saint sublimated the attack against his natural body as the mutilated martyr helped make damaged bodies whole.

The threat against Church authority was further sublimated when Canterbury Cathedral, which had been violated by the evil deed, became more powerful as it absorbed its violated human self. The church helped heal Thomas by sheltering him and providing a focus for his veneration. Thomas helped heal Canterbury by restoring the honor to and enhancing the authority of his violated bride when his body and blood soon became the focus of one of the most successful cults of medieval Europe.[152] Canterbury blossomed into a national shrine. Before 1170 "England lacked a really popular national shrine, like St Denis in France. St Edmund was only of limited interest, the cult of St Edward at Westminister always precarious."[153] Henry's posthumous reconciliation with Thomas was, no doubt, partially motivated by his intention to prevent the French from turning Thomas into a national saint.[154] Through its association with Thomas' murdered body the sacred place of Canterbury Cathedral became a site of political and religious reconciliation and, as a national shrine, an architectural expression of twelfth-century conflict resolution.

Conclusion
Division and Decomposition

ALTHOUGH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DICHOTOMIZE SACRED AND PROFANE IN the Middle Ages, it would be equally wrong to argue that they were one and the same. Many medieval people, particularly the clergy, had rituals to appropriate people, places, things, and even time to God, in other words to recognize and direct sacredness. As Hugh of St. Victor argued, the temporal world hosted competitions between good and evil that shaped and gave meaning to earthly lives. Any space that was used to worship God, therefore, had to be cleansed of this struggle. The belief in a dynamic world contentious with positive and negative forces distinguishes medieval attitudes toward sacred and profane from our own.

Ideal medieval sacred place is revealed in the rite of consecration in which Christian communities invited God to communicate with them in a specified location. Like any good hosts, these communities attempted to create attractive environments for their invited guest. The purification of space and the boosting of its sacred charge with the bodies of the holy rendered a space sacred. The goal of communities was to demonstrate to believers that their particular site did, in fact, facilitate communication with God. As part of this process, very often medieval sacred spaces were founded, protected, and mediated by human bodies, which at one and the same time were the sources as well as the direct recipients of sacred power. This process is clearly demonstrated in the *Miracles of Notre-Dame of Chartres* in which the Mediatrix *par excellence,* the Virgin who gave Christ his flesh, continued to negotiate the protection, healing, and even resurrection of bodies as part of a cult focused on the shift she had worn during the Nativity.

This was the ideal. The reality was often quite different when mundane concerns encouraged people to use churches for non-liturgical activities. The desire to conserve money, steal away privately, protect people and belongings, and sell wares in the busiest areas of medieval towns and cities encouraged the non-liturgical use of medieval sacred spaces. That many medieval people considered the nave to be (at least to some degree) the domain of the laity within the area of the greater church may have made mundane uses seem appropriate to some. Ignorance on the part of the laity (and less frequently the clergy) of how to behave in sacred places also seems

to have played a part. So, while some bodies helped establish sacred places, others compromised the ideal.

Many of the profanations that occurred in medieval sacred places can be ascribed to unchecked passion—pure and simple. Although an argument can be made that Thomas Becket may not have wanted to die and that his assassins originally had intentions other than to kill him, the fact remains that the archbishop was martyred in his cathedral during a crime of passion. The theory has been suggested that Thomas was a neo-Gregorian, standing in the way of the creativity and change of the twelfth century. It was his support of the conservative Gregorian worldview that ultimately claimed his life when it conflicted with the developing common law culture. Thomas' body reasserts in England, however temporarily, the values of an earlier century and champions the *auctoritas* of the Church in a society with a strong and defined *potestas*. Whether or not this theory could be substantiated, there is certainly the possibility that the archbishop was defending the medieval clerical understanding of the church as reserved and sacred space.

What is clear is that in the central Middle Ages the use of churches reflected the cares and concerns of society at large. It accommodated laity and clergy in such a way that many medieval churches seemed like cities of God in the strictest sense: there many of the worldly concerns of contemporary temporal life were expressed in buildings that represented (and were vehicles for) peoples' spiritual futures. However, it appears that sacred spaces became less ambiguous places as the Middle Ages wore on. Philippe Contamine's research has suggested that in general during the late Middle Ages the use of space became rigidly defined and that sacred spaces were not excepted from this trend:

> Churches contained a multitude of private chapels, separated by walls of wood or stone and iron grills and equipped with their own furniture and crypt; each chapel was assigned to an individual, a family, or a confraternity. Miniatures depict movable oratories occupied by some important personage in the act of praying, set apart from a retinue of courtiers and servants. Some permanent oratories, made of stone, enabled the occupant to look down on the altar and other worshippers without being seen and to come and go discreetly…. Of course there were also pews, elbow rests, and prie-dieus….[1]

As part of a gradual phenomenon that separated clergy and laity on the one hand and the wealthier families from the poorer on the other, later medieval architecture reflected the strains and stresses of society. The bridges that may have connected Chartres Cathedral to its auxiliary buildings, the screens that (as Christopher and Rosalind Brooke have remarked) became higher and more opaque in northern Europe from the late thirteenth century, the reredos that rose behind the altar of Canterbury Cathedral and separated the martyr

from his flock in the fourteenth century and, more generally, the predominance of compartmentalized churches in the later Middle Ages corroborate Contamine's suggestion that the use of church space became more spedalized as the centuries unfolded.[2] A corollary to the architectural division of sacred spaces is the restriction of their non-liturgical uses, as seen in the condemnations of practicing trades in churches which in turn initiated the establishment of professional areas and specialized shops.[3]

Churches, however, were not the only structures to become more rigidly compartmentalized during the later medieval and early modern periods. There is evidence that the regular clergy engaged in a similar process. Contamine notes that the dormitory of a priory at Littlemore had been divided into separate rooms, that other English monasteries contained private apartments for officials and that infirmaries began to be subdivided into private rooms. The injunction of one fifteenth-century official who had visited yet another English monastery admonished: "Eat and drink in a single room, sleep in a single room, pray and serve God in a single oratory… completely renounce all private retreats and individual rooms and apartments."[4]

Secular structures also underwent a process of space differentiation, which appears to have begun in the homes of the well-off. Orest Ranum has argued that in the early modern period architects increased the amount of private space in the houses of the well-to-do, a trend that would ultimately influence less wealthy families.[5] He notes the creation of walled gardens, for example, in the fifteenth century. During this period lay architecture experienced a proliferation of specialized rooms whose names were often taken from the pieces of furniture they accommodated. "In the various languages of Europe, words such as study, *cabinet, bibliothèque* (shelf or library), and *écritoire* (writing desk or writing room) may still refer to items of furniture, but they also designate rooms serving a particular, often private, function."[6] Ranum notes the gradual use of the chamber, a room that hosted the more pleasurable activities of the home, distinct from the hall where the chores were done.[7] By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries people began to distinguish the areas around their beds, calling the space between the bed and the wall the *ruelle* and the area just beyond the bed near the hall door the alcove.[8] During the Renaissance the tiny *studiolo* or study, previously found in monasteries, made an appearance in Italian palaces; by the sixteenth century these rooms also could be found in French châteaux and large urban houses.[9] The *cabinet* was another room whose use was refined during the early modern period; at first they had a religious character but by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many had become secularized and, in some cases, even eroticized.[10] Although the nature of the gradual subdivision of space in late medieval and early modern Europe is a very broad topic with numerous facets, a general trend emerges from the evidence:

> Disparate as the indications are, their meaning is clear, especially in the light of similar changes affecting the finest urban hotels, the most important castles, and the most prestigious palaces. What had once been done more easily outdoors increasingly moved indoors, and areas that had once served many different functions were now replaced by spaces whose functions were rigidly defined. There was a place for play, another for work, another for justice, still another for culture (we await the coming of the theater). Thus, at the very end of the Middle Ages, an ideal of urban space took shape. That ideal was not without parallels to the authorities' vision of the ideal society: more hierarchy, more segregation, stricter regimentation, and closer monitoring of individual behavior.[11]

Interestingly, around the same time that the use of space became more rigidly compartmentalized, so too did the human body. Recent research has identified changing perceptions of the body in late medieval and early modern Europe, which challenged its wholeness. Whereas people in the central Middle Ages could identify with the Pauline view of the human body which, like the mystical body of Christ, had many members but was ultimately a singular unity, those living in the late medieval and early modern periods had a much harder time identifying with this thinking. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio have located in the fifteenth century a shift in thinking which rendered unusable the body as a metaphor for the unity of western Christian society which, by the end of the century, had become divided and fragmented by the upheavals of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, print culture, heliocentrism and anatomical science and dissection.[12] Hillman and Mazzio draw parallels between this paradigm shift and the masterful drawings of body parts by artists such as da Vinci, Michelangelo and Dürer which are cause and symptom of the "new aesthetic of the part…an aesthetic that did not demand or rely upon the reintegration of the part into a predetermined whole."[13]

Both phenomena appear to support Mary Douglas' theory that the main difference between pre-modern and modern societies is the extent to which the lives of its members are differentiated. The relatively undifferentiated existence of medieval society is revealed in the church=body metaphor for which this study argues. Churches had a nuanced existence in the Middle Ages: they contained degrees of sacredness that were constantly tested by non-liturgical use. The second facade of Christian sacred space—the human body—was nuanced as well and did not lend itself to rigid distinction between body and soul.[14] The morphing of these two facades of Christian worship in the minds of medieval people is testimony to the flexibility, elasticity and universality of their society, soon to give way to a more particular *mentalité,* one prone to distinction and individuation.

Why were sacred spaces compartmentalized and their mundane uses increasingly prohibited? Further research is needed to answer this question though it is likely that the trend was related to the challenges made to ecclesiastical authority in the later Middle Ages. In the *Rex pacificus,* an anonymous treatise inspired by the contest between pope Boniface VIII and the French king Philip the Fair in the early fourteenth century, the author uses a body metaphor that equated the papacy with the head and the prince with the heart in order to assert the supremacy of the secular ruler. As Jacques Le Goff points out, the author of the treatise suggests that the leaders of the spiritual and secular spheres should live in autonomous cohabitation while overseeing the two separate jurisdictions of spiritual and temporal power. The *Rex pacificus* suggests that by as early as the fourteenth century there is evidence that the metaphorical body of the state, which now emphasized a double circuit controlled by head and heart, reflected the increasingly divided religious and secular spheres.

The compartmentalization and restriction of sacred space was almost certainly related to the conflict in medieval thought that characterized the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The condemnation of Aristotle in 1277, which signaled the separation of theology and philosophy, was a sign that the Church and its view of Christianity were becoming estranged from the world at large as faith and reason were increasingly looked upon as two separate realities. This, however, came after the authority of the Church had been challenged for centuries by heretics who felt the clergy had strayed from the ideals of the Gospels. In addition, the monarchs who were consolidating their power in the emerging states of western Europe presented the Church with numerous formidable challenges as they offered Europeans other groups with which they could identify. By the late thirteenth century the Church was losing its foothold in the temporal world. Douglas observed years ago that ecclesiastical withdrawal from the secular world into a specialized religious sphere signaled the movement in European history from primitive to modern.[15] The Middle Ages is on the cusp of this transition, the early adolescence of an emerging continent.

What has this to do with compartmentalizing and restricting use of sacred space and, by extension, the waning of the body=church metaphor? One hypothesis is that as the Church became less relevant to its society it became insecure. In response it enclosed itself in spaces that became reserved to a degree that it appears they had not been previously. Although clergy could not exclude laity indiscriminately, they could restrict access to their churches and cloisters, rendering sacred places more reserved. One event may have been particularly important to the breakdown of the synthesis: the Protestant Reformation. By questioning to varying degrees the nature of Christ's real presence in the eucharist, prohibiting the use of crucifixes in worship, denying the intercessory powers of the saints whose relics were important to the establishment of medieval churches, and disputing the necessity and

nature of baptism, numerous Protestant reformers cultivated competing religious traditions in which the bodies of Christ, the saints and the average Christian were much less central to worship; in other words, these new religious leaders fragmented the rich medieval metaphor of the multifaceted body of Christ. Likewise, the Protestant notion of a priesthood of all believers challenged the role of sacred spaces in which the Christian community's relationship with God was mediated. Returning to Victor Turner's theory regarding *communitas* and structure, it is possible to interpret the rise of Protestantism as a surge in the communal and egalitarian force in Christianity, a reaction to a corrupt Church whose focus had tipped in favor of the forces of hierarchy and difference. By the later Middle Ages the two forces Turner describes were out of balance; the Protestant churches came to represent *communitas* and the Roman Church structure. This is not to say that each didn't have elements of the other. But on the whole this is how the synthesis broke down. Therefore, as Christian loyalties were gradually torn by the emergence of alternative churches as well as by other emerging identity groups such as guilds and "nation states," for example—in other words, as the medieval synthesis fragmented—the Roman Church suffered a loss of security that was reflected in the uses of sacred spaces. Sacred spaces became truly reserved and forbidden as identities shifted and Europeans began to order the fascinating and complex ambiguity of the Middle Ages.

Epilogue
Body and Sacred Place in the Wake of September 11
Resurrecting Medieval Metaphors in the Modern World

I WRITE THIS EPILOGUE ON AUGUST 6, 2002, THE DAY WHEN MAYOR MICHAEL Bloomberg has announced New York City's plans to commemorate the oneyear anniversary of the attacks against the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The events of that beautiful late summer day have brought to the fore the relationship between human bodies and sacred places—though in a twenty-first century American context relatively uncomplicated by overlapping Christian metaphors. While ending the fifth chapter with a statement of difference between medieval and early modern perceptions of space and body, I'd like to conclude this study with a few words acknowledging the relationship as it has resurfaced in the context of the recent past. Though the particular situation in this great city will have shifted dramatically by the time the reader gets this book, the observations will retain their relevancy and meaning, I suspect, because much less will have changed about the way human communities deal with loss, sacrality and remembering the dead.

Unlike the sacred spaces of the Middle Ages, which were made sacred during the ritual of consecration, the former World Trade Center site was made holy in the eyes of many by the deaths of almost 3,000 people who perished there, many of whose bodies were never recovered. For months workers at the recovery site searched fields of debris, looking for the tiniest fragments of the bodies of the dead, a process that was repeated at the Fresh Kills landfill located in my home borough of Staten Island. These men and women engaged in this gruesome task, which they considered an honor, because they knew the power the smallest remains of a human body have for family members, for whom the fragment can represent not just a piece but the whole. These workers became archeologists of the sacred and the remains they recovered were the new relics, bits that retained the living essence of the dead that later could be interred in a family's burial site.

Today, as the city continues to deliberate what will become of the site, a steel cross—made of two welded beams found in this arrangement on 9/11—surveys the pit below, waiting on a traumatized city to come to terms with its past and present and contemplate its future. The choice of the Gettysburg Address to be included in the memorial service is telling, I think, because in

one sense it indicates New York's resignation to the idea that like the great Civil War battlefield in Pennsylvania the space on which the former World Trade Center stood has been transformed—made sacred as so many city residents have said— without our consent and by events outside of our control. Lincoln's final words of the address are statements of hope and rebirth. What today binds together medieval celebrants, the sixteenth president of the United States, and millions of New Yorkers are hopes of resurrection—whether it be of a city, a country or the self in Christ.

How do we appropriately recognize sacred space today? That is a matter of debate. Some have argued that the entire site should be made a park. At the other end of the spectrum are those who want to see the area function very much as it had on September 10. The vast majority of New Yorkers, however, remain somewhere in the middle, calling for the footprints (a fascinating use of a body metaphor that suggests the towers themselves were bodies) to remain sacred. To build on them would be a sacrilege, as some survivors have argued. These footprints, in fact, are the new altars, made holy not by the bodies of saints but by the bodies of civilians who were engaged in the mundane heroism of doing their jobs and supporting their families. For many of the survivors and the families of the victims, these areas are non-negotiable, inner sanctums at the heart of a vast expanse made sacred by its contiguity.

The answer to the question of how to best use this highly charged place is to rework the space so that it can best accommodate the bodies of the living. During discussions that appropriated the building=body metaphor, the first submitted rebuilding plans that proposed new buildings to replace the fallen twins were criticized, deemed unsatisfactory for their lifelessness and lack of "soul". New Yorkers are asking for vibrant "24-7" plans that will inject "vitality" into the site—in other words, infuse life into the mass grave. This will be achieved, many say, by adding streets and creating shops, restaurants, apartments, cultural centers and, yes, even office space that will invite life—and its corollary, the human body—into the area. Although trees, grass and open space are important, ultimately it will be living people whose presence will maintain a dialogue with the dead, keeping alive the memories of the innocent who were sacrificed while celebrating the lives of those who are still among us. In a recent article offering one of the more intriguing unofficial proposals, Frederick Turner, Founders Professor of Arts and Humanities at the University of Texas at Dallas, has suggested that in the process of rebuilding New Yorkers avail themselves of the great Gothic arches of the Brooklyn Bridge as part of twin memorial towers that will "embody" the character of our nation while recalling "the religious vocabulary of Europe." According to his proposal, which uses a vertical model, in a modern equivalent of the medieval spiritual journey "pilgrims" would ascend the last three stories of the towers, which would be connected by means of staircases and escalators transporting them to a great memorial garden. As they travel

along paths in the cooler and cleaner air, passing woodlands, hills and a lake, pilgrims would be spiritually transformed, preparing them for their arrival at the high altar, a noble monument to the dead. Manipulating human bodies to invest space with memories of past sacrifice and hopes for the future is very medieval *and* modern.

A postmodern age that prides itself on difference and distinction remains full of opportunities to find connections with the past. I am heartened to be able to draw on my love of the Middle Ages to help make some limited sense of the complicated and uncertain world in which we now find ourselves. And while we acknowledge the things that divide us, we must also recognize our connections to people living today and long ago because it is these ties that help us orient ourselves—body and soul—in a spatial world fraught with meaning.

Notes

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1 I acknowledge the difference between *space* and *place,* as some scholars have argued. *Space* is usually used to indicate meaningless expanses, a concept that is probably inappropriate for the Middle Ages since medieval people saw the entire world as charged with meaning. However, to avoid the monotony of using *place* throughout the text, I have used both *sacred space* and *sacred place* to identify the consecrated buildings I examine. For a discussion of the nuances in the usage of these words, see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 54 where he writes: "Space is a common symbol of freedom in the Western world. Space lies open; it suggests the future and invites action. On the negative side, space and freedom are a threat. A root meaning of the word "bad" is "open." To be open and free is to be exposed and vulnerable. Open space has no trodden paths and signposts. It has no fixed pattern of established human meaning; it is like a blank sheet on which meaning may be imposed. Enclosed and humanized space is place. Compared to space, place is a calm center of established values."

2 "In order to understand a philosophical system (or the philosophical corpus of an entire historical period), it is often necessary to approach it from the margins rather than from the center. From the center, a system always seems well defined and hardly challengeable; it is at its periphery that it gets put to the test…. The marginality of the problem [does] not represent an intellectual division, but a critical mode in which the system ought to show its own flexibility and explanatory power." Umberto Eco and Costantino Marmo, eds., *On the Medieval Theory of Signs* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1989), 3.

3 Larry Rohter, "Guatemala Digs up its Army's Secret Cemeteries," *New York Times*, 7 June 1997, International sec., p. 7.

4 "Whether simple or complex, all known religious beliefs display a common feature: They presuppose a classification of the real or ideal things that men conceive of into two classes—two opposite genera—that are widely designated by two distinct terms, which the words *profane* and *sacred* translate fairly well. The division of the world into two domains, one

containing all that is sacred and the other all that is profane—such is the distinctive trait of religious thought." Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E.Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995 [1912]), 34. Durkheim believed that these two genera would not meet. On page 37 he writes: "The opposition of these two genera is expressed outwardly by a visible sign that permits ready recognition of this very special classification, wherever it exists. The mind experiences deep repugnance about mingling, even simple contact, between the corresponding things, because the notion of the sacred is always and everywhere separate from the notion of the profane in man's mind…."

5 William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3d ed., edited with an introduction and appendix by John Day (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995 [1st ed., 1889]).

6 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994 [1966]), 78.

7 *Forms*, 312.

8 Ibid., 38.

9 Sidney Oldall Addy, *Church and Manor: A Study in English Economic History* (New York: Augustus M.Kelley, 1970 [1913]); William Andrews, ed., *Ecclesiastical Curiosities* (London: William Andrews & Co., 1899); and William Andrews, ed., *Curious Church Customs and Cognate Subjects* (Hull, England: William Andrews & Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co., 1895).

10 J.G.Davies, "Playing Games in Churches" in *The Recreational Use of Churches*, edited by J.G.Davies, 13–19 (Birmingham, England: University of Birmingham, Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, 1978); J.G.Davies, *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London: SCM Press, 1968); J.G.Davies, "Architecture and Theology" *Expository Times* 73 (1962): 231–33.

11 Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Dissertation sur les Porches des églises dans laquelle on fait voir les divers usages ausquels ils sont destinez* (Orléans: François Hotot, 1679).

12 Jean Villette, "Quand les pèlerins couchaient dans la cathédrale," *Notre-Dame de Chartres* (June 1979):4–7.

13 David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 56.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 All biblical references are from the New Revised Standard Version unless otherwise noted.

2 Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, translated by Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 121: "Domino igitur mundi homine providentia divina in loco deliciarum quasi in parte potiori constituto…vidit diabolus et invidit quod homo illuc per obedientiam ascenderet, unde ipse per superbiam corruisset." *PL*, 176: col. 287. Hugh (also known as Hugo) was born in Saxony in 1096. In 1115, while completing his novitiate to become an Augustinian canon, he moved to the

monastery of St. Victor in Paris. He remained a member of the community until his death in 1141. Hugh wrote the *De sacramentis* (*PL,* 176: col. 173–618), his most comprehensive work, around 1134.

3 Hugh of St. Victor, *Sacraments,* 142: "Tria ergo hic in reparatione hominis primo loco consideranda occurrunt: tempus, locus, remedium. Tempus est praesens vita ab initio mundi usque ad finem saeculi. Locus est mundus iste. Remedium in tribus constat: in fide, in sacramentis, in operibus bonis. Tempus longum, ne imparatus praeoccupetur. Locus asper, ut praevaricator castigetur. Remedium efficax, ut infirmus sanetur." *PL,* 176: 305–06.

4 See Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism,* translated by Philip Mairet (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991 [1961]), 170–71: "Christianity strives to *save* history; first, because it accords a value to historic time; and also because, for the Christian, the historical event, while remaining just what it is, becomes capable of transmitting a trans-historical message. For, since the incarnation of Christ, the Christian is supposed to look for the interventions of God not only in the Cosmos… but also in historical events…. Altogether, the Christian is led to approach every historical event with 'fear and trembling', since for him even the most commonplace historical event, while continuing to be *real* (that is, historically conditioned) may conceal some new intervention of God in history…. Consequently, for the Christian, historical life itself can become glorious—as the life of Christ and the saints bear witness. With the coming of Christianity, it is no longer the Cosmos and the Images only that are able to prefigure and reveal—there is also History, especially that of 'everyday life', that which is constituted by events apparently without significance."

5 For a discussion of perceptions of miracles in the central Middle Ages, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215,* rev. ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987 [1982]). On page 2 she notes the way miracles could punctuate mundane existence: "Throughout the Middle Ages miracles were unanimously seen as part of the City of God on earth, and whatever reflections men might have on their cause and aim, they formed an integral part of ordinary life."

6 Durkheim, *Forms,* 322: "Far from remaining attached to the things that are marked with it, sacredness possesses a certain transience. Even the most superficial or indirect contact is enough for it to spread from one object to another." He notes that the rite of consecration itself is founded on the principle of the contagiousness of the sacred.

7 For a biblical example of sacred contagiousness, see Mark 5:27–29 and Luke 8:44 where a woman who had been hemorrhaging for twelve years is cured simply by touching Christ's clothes; her faith in him made the transfer of the curative power possible. Matt. 9:20–22 relates the same story but the woman is cured after being noticed by Christ; it is less clear if she had been cured by coming into contact with his clothes or by his words.

8 "Includi gemmis lapis iste meretur et auro. Marmor erat, sed in his marmore carior est." Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures,* 2d ed., edited, translated, and annotated by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979 [1946]), 78–79. (Latin text and

English translation on facing pages.) For a biblical foundation for this belief, see Matt. 23:16–17.

9 *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, edited by Pierre Kunstmann (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir; Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973), 162–66. The collection of the *Miracles* is examined closely in chapter 2.

10 Ibid., 163–6:

<table><tr><td>Reversus itaque miles in patriam cepit illis assidue uti camisiis et ne hostibus gladiis posset aliquando penetrari semper earum aliqua tanquam lorica vestitus incedere.</td><td>Chacun jor, par acoustumance,
L'une des chemises vestoit
Et ausint aseür estoit
Com s'eüst un haubert vestu,
Tant se fioit en la vertu
Dou seintüere precïeus,
Noble, poissant et vertueus,
Ou sa chemise estoit touchiee,
Qui estoit soutil et dougiee.</td></tr></table>

11 Ronald C.Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [1977]), 26: "Relics…emitted a kind of holy radioactivity which bombarded everything in the area, and as early as the sixth century it was believed that objects placed next to them would absorb some of their power and grow heavier."

12 Peter Abelard, *Ethics*, edited with an introduction, translation, and notes by D.E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

13 Ibid., xxxii–xxxiii: "It has sometimes been thought that Abelard's emphasis upon the disposition and the intention of the sinner and the penitent was prompted by reaction to the crudities of an existing penitential system under which penances were imposed on sinners according to tariffs which were still set out in current manuals of penance and which were, in the judgement of some, imposed with insufflcient regard for the dispositions of the individual penitent or sinner. The development in the twelfth century of the practice of private confession—a development to which Abelard himself in his *Ethics* gave considerable support—brought into sharper relief the importance of taking into account the psychology of the individual sinner or penitent, but it did not at once render obsolete the old penitential collections with their lists of sins, nor were the best of these penitentials, even in the Carolingian age, less concerned with the dispositions of the soul than with tariffs for evil deeds."

14 Ibid., 22–25: "Nichil ergo ad augmentum peccati pertinet qualiscumque operum executio, et nichil animam nisi quod ipsius est coinquinat, hoc est consensus quem solummodo peccatum esse diximus, non uoluntatem eum precedentem uel actionem operis subsequentem. Et si enim uelimus uel

faciamus quod non conuenit, non ideo tamen peccamus, cum haec frequenter sine peccato contingant, sicut e conuerso consensus sine istis…."

15 For a discussion of the role of intent in moral behavior and its relationship to emerging individuality, see Georges Duby, "Solitude: Eleventh to Thirteenth Century" in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World,* edited by Georges Duby and translated by Arthur Goldhammer (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), 509–33.

16 Douglas, *Purity,* 61: "The Sermon on the Mount was seen as the deliberate Messianic counterpart of the Mosaic law…. From this time on the physiological condition of a person, whether leprous, bleeding, or crippled, should have become irrelevant to their capacity to approach the altar…. Sin was to be regarded as a matter of the will and not of external circumstance."

17 Brundage notes that "some writers apparently believed that any sort of contact with a pregnant woman imparted ritual impurity." James Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (London; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 156. In the Middle Ages outward physical appearance could indicate the state of a person's soul. See, for example, Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (London; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

18 Douglas, *Purity,* 62.

19 C. 3, D.LXVIII. Repeated in c. 20, D. I, *de cons*.

20 "[R]econciliationem inducunt et etiam propositum et voluntas mortaliter ibi peccantis. Si uero occultum sit, reconcilliari necesse non est, quoniam ecclesia cum sancta sit coinquinari non potest, immo ipsius loci sanctitas infamiam loci abolet, quamuis in hoc quidam contrarium sentiant ut saltem occulte ita quod delinquentes non prodantur sit reconcilianda." *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum Offidorum I–IV,* edited by Anselmus Davril and Timothy M.Thibodeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 82.

Durandus (also known as William Duranti or Durantis, Durandus of Mende, and Durandus the Elder) was born in Provence around 1230. Although he had held a titular canonry of Chartres in the 1260s and became a dean of its chapter in 1279, he spent little if any time there. Instead Durandus lived a good number of his years in Italy while he served as part of the papal curia. In 1285 he was elected bishop of Mende, in Narbonne and died in Rome in 1296. Durandus' *Rationale* is an exceptionally important source of information for thirteenth-century symbolism and ritual.

21 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 270.

22 Ibid.

23 Although Christ makes some references to his body being—or superceding—the temple (one example is "I tell you something greater than the temple is here." Matt. 12:6), it is St. Paul who really articulates the new locus of Christian worship. See page 1 for his statement in I Corinthians 3:16–17 that a person can be God's holy temple. For other Pauline references, see I Corinthians 6:19 ("Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you…."), 2 Corinthians 6:16 ("For we are the temple of

the living God….”), and Ephesians 2:19–22 (“So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built together spiritually into a dwelling place for God.”) See also I Peter 2:5 (“…and like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.”)

24 Harold W.Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship* (The Hague; Paris; New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 129.

25 Ibid., 139. Also see John 10:7–9.

26 “In passione namque eius uelum templi scissum est quia tunc Scripture aperte sunt et reuelata sancta sanctorum….” *Rationale,* 72.

27 Douglas, *Purity,* 61.

28 See “Religious Movements and Christian Culture: A Pattern of Centripetal and Centrifugal Orientations” in Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe,* edited by Karen Margolis, translated by Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 28–50.

29 For a discussion of these principles, see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995 [1978]). Also see Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (London; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

30 Klaniczay, “Religious Movements,” 34–35. Kantorowicz notes that the Investiture Controversy, which emphasized the importance and spurred the development of the institutional church, was largely responsible for the secularization of the medieval church: “After the Investiture Struggle there arose, for many reasons, the ‘danger of too much stress being laid on the institutional, corporational side of the Church’ as a body politic. It was the beginning of the so-called secularization of the medieval church….” He does add, though, that this process was balanced by the “designedly ‘mystical’ interpretation…of the administrative body and technical apparatus of the hierarchy.” Ernst H.Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981 [1957]), 197. This suggests that the contest between the ideals of the primitive and the goals of the hierarchical church could be experienced within one particular organizing principle. Kantorowicz argues that the term *corpus mysticum,* at first used to describe the host, took on a sociological meaning in the middle of the twelfth century. Around the same time the secular hierarchy assumed a sacred form as it became a *sacrum imperium*. As the institutional church took on an otherworldly aspect, so too did the secular powers.

31 For a discussion of this distinction, see Kantorowicz, *Bodies,* 197–99.

32 Ibid., 198, note 14. "Duo sunt corpora Christi. Unum materiale, quod sumpsit de virgine, et spirituale collegium, collegium ecclesiasticum." In Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, 2d ed. (Paris: 1949), 122.

33 Ibid., 198, note 15. "Aliud est corpus, quod sacramentum est, aliud corpus, cuius sacramentum est…Christi corpus, quod videlicet ipse est, aliud autem corpus, cuius ipse caput est." In *De veritate corporis Christi,* xxxix in *Sanctorum patrum opuscula selecta,* edited by H.Hurter (Innsbruck: 1879), 75f.

34 "[A] principali corpore ad mysticum Dominus noster nos voluit traducere." Guibert of Nogent, *De pignoribus sanctorum,* 2; *PL,* 156, 629, 634C. Quoted in Kantorowicz, *Bodies,* 198–99, note 16.

35 Klaniczay, *Supernatural Power,* 36–37.

36 For a discussion of these objections, see John W.Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle,* 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1:66–70 (notes may be found in 2:47–50).

37 "[I]n templo Dei nihil esse, quod sit alique cultu religionis dignum magis quam proprii domicilii cubiculum, nihilque in eo sanctum praeter coementa et lapides artificum opere digestos." *Acta synodi atrebatensis, PL,* 142: col. 1272; quoted in Klaniczay, *Suupernatural Power,* 196, note 24.

38 "[T]emplorum vel ecclesiarum fabricam fieri non debere, factas insuper subrui oportere, nec esse necessaria Christianis sacra loca ad orandum, quoniam aeque in taberna et in ecclesia, in foro et in templo, ante altare vel ante stabulum invocatus Deus audit, et eos qui merentur exaudit." *Epistola sive tractatus Petrobrusianos haereticos, PL,* 189: col. 722; a more recent edition may be found in *Petri Venerabilis Contra Petrobrusianos Hereticos,* edited by James Fearns (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968). A discussion of Peter of Bruis and his heresy may be found in Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation,* 2d ed. (Oxford, England; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992 [1st ed. 1977]), 47–49, where he notes that Henry the Monk, another twelfth-century heretic who preached in France, also objected to church buildings.

Bynum notes heretical opposition to cemeteries, which "…can stem from antisacerdotalism or from dualist rejection of matter." Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 217–18.

39 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Jesus through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 83–84: "What was more, [the followers of Jesus] went beyond Judaism in denouncing as well the very notion of religious architecture: 'The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by man.' They took the prohibition of images to apply not only to the idolaters who worshipped them but even to the artists who made them, who were practicing a 'deceptive art,' and they celebrated those 'who refuse to look at any temples and altars.' Thus in contradistinction to paganism and in some ways even to Judaism, they claimed, in the name of the revelation of the divine that had come in Jesus, to be proclaiming a God who transcended all efforts of human hands to devise sacred images; for it was the rational soul that was the 'image of God.' There were neither sacred images nor sacred

places; not even the places where Jesus had been born and buried were possessed of any special holiness."

40 Klaniczay, *Supernatural Power*, 194, note 13: "Liminality is characteristic of the central phase of the rites of passage, in which the participant, already separated from the previous status but not yet integrated into the new one, is constrained to spend some time on the margins, the *limen* of social existence, and confront the effects of this 'liminal' status." This terminology, central to some of Turner's works, was coined by Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by M.Z.Vizedom and G.L.Caffee (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1909).

41 The liturgy of consecration consulted for this section is part of the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century. For the rite see *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge*, 1, edited by Michel Andrieu (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1938), 176–95. Once the eighth-century Roman and Frankish traditions fused in the tenth century, relatively little changed beyond minor details. Jounel writes: "The ensuing centuries added nothing substantial but did bring the development of each rite and the multiplication of purificatory sprinklings, anointings, and incensations, as well as of the accompanying antiphons and psalms…." Pierre Jounel, "The Dedication of Churches" in *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, new ed., vol. 1, edited by Aimé Georges Martimort, translated by Matthew J.O'Connell (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1987), 220.

42 Since the consecration rested in the walls (see note 55) it seems logical that the rite began outside the church. The Christian community clearly marked the space to be purified and made sacred from the outset. Note that this practice, which takes land for God, has echoes in procedure for taking land in Anglo-Saxon England: "In this predominantly oral society, the grantor had to vocalize his grant; and just as important, the recipient of the gift had physically to take possession of the land, preferably by riding around the estate's perimeter, making a noise, and having someone read from the charter." Norman F.Cantor, *Imagining the Law: Common Law and the Foundations of the American Legal System* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 82–83.

43 Jacobus of Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, translated by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 386. The Latin reads: "Templum autem seu ecclesia consecratur quintuplici ratione. Primo, ut inde dyabolus et ejus potestas expellantur. Ut refert in dyalogo, quod, cum quaedam ecclesia Arionorum fidelibus reddita consecraretur et reliquae sancti Sebastiani et beatae Agathae illuc delatae fuissent, populus ibidem congregatus porcum subito intra suos pedes huc illuc discurrere senserunt, qui fores ecclesiae repetens a nullo videri potuit omnesque in admirationem commovit. Quod idcirco dominus ostendit, ut cunctis patefieret, quod de loco eodem immundus habitator exiret." *Legenda aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta*, edited by T.Graesse (Osnabruck: Otto Zeller, 1965), 846–47. Jacobus (other possible spellings of his names are Jacopo and di Viraggio) was born near Genoa around 1230 and died at the end of the thirteenth century. He became a Dominican friar in 1244 and was

elected Archbishop of Genoa in 1292. His best-known work is the *Legenda aurea,* which has a section on the dedication of churches.

44 Jacobus of Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 391–92. "Tertio interius et exterius aqua benedicta aspergitur, quod fit triplici de causa. Primo propter daemonis expulsionem. Aqua enim benedicta habet propriam virtutem expellendi ipsum dyabolum. Unde in exorcismo aquae dicitur: ut sis aqua exorcisata ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici et ipsum inimicum eradicare etc.... Secundo propter ipsius ecclesiae expiationem; omnia enim terrena haec propter peccatum corrupta sunt et foedata, et ideo locus ipse aqua benedicta aspergitur, ut ab omni foeditate et immunditia liberetur, purgetur, expietur.... Tertio propter omnem removendam maledictionem. Terra enim a principio cum fructu suo maledictionem accepit ex eo, quod ex ejus fructu deceptio facta fuit, aqua vero nulli maledictioni subjacuit.... Ut ergo omnis maledictio removeatur et benedictio introducatur, ideo aqua benedicta adspergitur." *Legenda aurea*, 852.

45 Hugh of St. Victor, *Sacraments*, 281. "Aqua poenitentia est, sordes abluens peccatorum." *PL,* 176: col. 441. Lee Bowen suggests that the need to purify space expressed in the consecration rite was directly related to Gen. 3:17 when God tells Adam the ground is cursed. See "The Tropology of Mediaeval Dedication Rites," *Speculum* 16 (1941): 469–79, where Bowen writes that the aspersions of consecration "cleansed the church of inherent evil and made it fit to become a house of prayer," 472.

46 "Et est notandum quod consecratio...ipsam ecclesiam materialem Deo appropriat ...in consecratione dotatur et transit in propriam Iesu Christi sponsam quam sacrilegium est per adulterium ulterius violari. Desinit enim esse lupanar demonum...." Durandus, *Rationale,* 67–68.

47 As Pierre Jounel has pointed out, Revelation 6:9 offers an explanation for the popularity of relics in the rite of consecration. The practice began as early as the fourth century when St. Ambrose placed the relics of the martyred Sts. Gervase and Protase in the Roman basilica of Milan. This encouraged the development of secondary or figurative sanctity: "Not all bishops had the good fortune to discover the tombs of martyrs, as Ambrose did, just as they were about to dedicate a church. Most of them, however, wanted to place some relic of a martyr in their new place of worship. The result was that in the beginning of the sixth century the custom spread of using figurative relics known as *sanctuaria* or *brandea,* such as linen that had been touched by a holy tomb." It also became common to separate the remains: "But at this same period it was already a universal custom—except at Rome, which opposed it—to divide up the bones of martyrs... . The rite for the translation and deposition of relics remained one of the most popular in the liturgy of dedication." Jounel, "The Dedication of Churches," 217–18. Duchesne has also noted the growth of representative tombs: "By a sort of ritualistic fiction...it came soon to be recognized that a single saint could have a great number of tombs. Any relic whatever—a piece of linen saturated with his blood, a vessel containing oil drawn from the lamps in his sanctuary, a fragment of stuff detached from the pall of his sarcophagus —was sufficient to represent him at a distance from his resting-place. To possess an object of this nature was to possess the body of the saint itself.

To translate it and depose it in a church was equivalent to interring the body there." L.Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne,* 5th ed., translated by M.L.McClure (London: S.P.C.K., 1956), 402.

48 Jacobus of Voragine, *Golden Legend,* 2:385. The Latin reads: "duplex est ecclesia sive templum, scilicet materiale et spirituale…." *Legenda aurea,* 845.

49 Hugh of St. Victor, *Sacraments,* 279. "Ipsa enim verum templum Dei est confoederatione virtutum, quasi quadam structura lapidum spiritualium aedificata, ubi fides fundamentum facit, spes fabricam erigit, charitas consummationem imponit. Sed et ipsa Ecclesia ex multitudine fidelium in unum congregata: domus est Dei vivis lapidibus constructa, ubi Christus fundamentum angulare positus est; duos parietes Judaeorum et gentium in una fide conjungens." *PL,* 176: col. 439.

50 "Nam habebat et adhuc habere cernitur cancellum qui et sanctuarium pro capite et collo, chorum stallatum pro pectoralibus, crucem ad utraque latera ipsius chori duabus manicis seu alis protensam pro brachiis et manibus, navim vero monasterii pro utero, et crucem interiorem eque duabus alis versus meridiem et septemtrionem expansam pro coxis et cruribus…." *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au Moyen Âge XI^e—XII^e siècles,* edited by Victor Mortet (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1911), 160. This is echoed by Durandus: "Dispositio autem ecclesie materialis modum humani corporis tenet. Cancellus namque, siue locus ubi altare est, caput representat, crux ex utraque parte brachia et manus, reliqua pars ab occidente quicquid corporis superesse videtur." *Rationale,* 17.

51 Bowen notes that St. Augustine ("Sermones de Tempore," *PL,* 38: col. 336) also believed that the effects of church consecration are felt in the faithful: "Tunc autem sermo noster congruus erit, si in se aliquid aedificationis habeat, quod utilitati animarum vestrarum Deo vos interius aedificante proficiat. Quod hic factum corporaliter videmus in parietibus, spiritualiter fiat in mentibus; et quod hic perfectum cernimus in lapidus et lignis, hoc aedificante gratia Dei perficiatur in corporibus vestris." Cited in Bowen, "Tropology," 469, note 2. Ivo of Chartres reports the related belief that whatever is done to the exterior of a building is also done to its interior so that the aspersion of the interior of a church is unnecessary because: "quidquid in exteriori sanctificatione agitur, superstitiosum est, nisi interiori homine compleatur." *Sermo IV,* 532 (see note below).

52 Ivo of Chartres, *Sermo IV in PL,* 162: col. 527–35. Ivo (also known as Yvo and Yves) was born around 1040 and died in 1116; he became bishop of Chartres Cathedral in 1090. His *Sermo IV,* in which he compares the consecration of churches to the baptism of bodies, is an important source for the study of medieval conception of sacred place. Benz briefly mentions that there is some possibility that Ivo is not the author of this sermon, although he readily admits that Ivo could have very well written this work that numerous scholars have attributed to him. See Benz, "Zur Geschichte der römischen Kirchweihe," 104–106.

Hugh of St. Victor: "Alia vero sacramenta omnia ad quae conficienda et sanctificanda universa haec quasi quaedam instrumenta praemissa sunt,

subsequenter tractari exposcunt. Et primum sicut dictum est de dedicatione Ecclesiae, quasi de primo baptismate, quo ipsa quodammodo Ecclesia primum baptizatur, ut in ea post modum homines ad salutem regenerandi baptizentur. Quasi enim primum sacramentum in baptismo cognoscitur, per quod fideles omnes inter membra corporis Christi per regenerationis novae gratiam computantur." *PL,* 176: col. 429.

Jacobus of Voragine: "Templum autem spirituale, quod sumus nos, ad similitudinem templi materialis consecratur." *Legenda aurea,* 855.

William Durandus: "Manifestum quidem est quod hec aqua, cuius aspersione ecclesia consecratur, baptismum significat quia quodammodo ipsa ecclesia baptizatur." *Rationale,* 68.

53 "Quoniam ad dedicationem praesentis basilicae hodie devote convenistis, oportet ut quod in his sanctis manufactis fieri videtis, totum, impletum esse in vobis cognoscatis." Ivo, *Sermo IV,* col. 527.

54 "Primo enim manibus patrinorum ad Ecclesiam fuistis allati, et sacerdotibus vel exorcistis ad catechizandum oblati. Qui dum vos catechizarent, dum Christi legibus initiarent, de massa antiqua praevaricatione corrupta praecidebant…." Ibid.

55 "Primo enim lapides, qui ad hanc fabricam aedificandam comportati sunt aut de montibus sunt pracisi, aut de locis subterraneis eruti, aut de agris collecti." Ibid., 528. The church building itself was later cut off by a procession. Koziol discusses the use of processions as a means of separation in medieval society: "circular processions, made with incense and aspersions, were a common liturgical means of separating the sacred from the profane and fortifying the sacred from attack. Thus, solemn processions around battlements protected towns from enemies. Churches were consecrated and strengthened against demons with processions around their walls. And altars within churches were purified by regular aspersions made in a circle around them." Geoffrey Koziol, "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders" in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000,* edited by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (London; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 253–54.

56 "[E]t ipsa fidei professio, et pravorum morum abrenuntiatio, quae a vobis exigebatur, interiorem parturiebat in vobis novitatem, qua Christi imaginem de caelo portaretis, renati per gratiam, sicut antea portaveratis imaginem terreni parentis, ex eo geniti per naturam. His documentis instructi, accessistis ad aequam, et fonte salutis abluti estis…." Ivo, *Sermo IV,* 527.

57 "Aqua etenim poenitentiae figuram gerit, quae velut aqua, peccatorum maculas abluit …. Ista aqua ad quamdam baptismi imaginem gyrando ecclesiam tunc exterius aspergimus, quia ubi more baptizatorum non potest fieri trina mersio, necesse est ut qua possumus sacramenti similitudine trina fiat aspersio." Ibid., 529. Remensnyder notes that not only was consecration a baptism, it was also an exorcism: "the entire ritual of consecration was itself an exorcism. It expelled demons and protected the church against them." Amy G.Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (London; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 34. In addition to being an exorcism,

consecration was also a benediction. The rite altered the balance between good and evil in the ambiguous temporal world.

58 "Deinde oleo sancto uncti fuistis in capite, ut charitas, quae Spiritum sanctum datur, semper abundet in corde, secundum illud verbum sapientiae: 'Oleum de capite tuo nunquam deliciat.' (Eccles. 9:8) Unde et Apostolus: 'Charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris, per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.' (Rom. v)… Haec charitas in Christi corpore non praefert indigenam alienigenae, non nobilem ignobili, non virum mulieri, sed omnes per adoptionem spiritus facit filios…. Accepistis etiam oleum sanctum in pectore, ut vigeret in corde vestro sapientia. Accepistis et in humero dextro, ut in exercitiis bonorum operum indeficiens servetur patientia…." Ivo, *Sermo IV*, 527–28. Ivo tells his listeners that they have been called upon to fight against the forces of evil: "hujus partis unctione Christi athletae dedicati estis, ut sciatis vos ad certamen esse vocatos, et per totum vitae vestrae cursum, contra antiquum hostem publicis et privatis congressionibus esse pugnaturos." Ibid. Durandus says something similar when he refers to the baptized as "se ad pugnam preparant et qui adhuc sunt inter suspiria et in certamine constituti…. " *Rationale*, 85.

59 "[E]t sancta Ecclesia…sic unctione insignitur per manus pontificis, ut Spiritus sancti in se mercatur adventum. Nam oleum gratiam significat Spiritus sancti (Romans 5:5), quo charitas difîfunditur in cordibus electorum ad diligendum Deum et proximum." Ivo, *Sermo IV*, 534. The anointing of walls was an important step in the rite of consecration: "consecratio etenim ecclesie maxime in exteriori unctione et in lapidum coniunctione et dispositione consistit." *Rationale*, 75. Just as a church without walls could not be, a person without a body could not exist: "to be a human being *(homo)* is to be embodied… soul without body is not a person." Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 243.

60 The exception was if they had been burned by fire; then they could be used in a monastery but under no circumstances could they be used for lay building. *Decretum* D 1. C. 38: "Ligna ecclesiae dedicatae non debent ad aliud opus iungi, nisi ad aliam ecclesiam, uel igni conburenda, uel ad profectum in monasterio fratribus; in laicorum opera non debent admitti." A statute issued in 1289 is slightly more comprehensive, specifying that stone also fell in this category—as did ecclesiastical vestments and ornaments: "Ligna seu lapides ecclesiarum in aliis usibus non ponantur, nisi in aedificatione &: reparatione alterius ecclesiae, vel hospitalis, seu in claustra dormitorii, vel in c[l]austra coemeterii, seu alio honesto aedificio ad opus clericorum ecclesiis servientium deputato. In laicorum autem aedificiis seu usibus non ponantur, & idem observetur, de vestimentis, cortinis, & aliis ornamentis ecclesiasticis…." "Statuta Synodalia Cadurcensis, Ruthenensis, et Tutelensis Ecclesiarum" in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 54 vols. in 59, edited by Ioannes Dominicus Mansi (Paris; Arnhem; Leipzig: 1901–1927 [1759–1798]), 24: col. 1019. Also found in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, edited by Edmond Martène and Ursinus Durand (New York: B.Franklin, 1968 [1724–33]), 4: col. 729–30.

61 Fenestre ecclesie uitree…ventum et pluuiam repellunt…et dum claritatem veri solis, id est Dei, in ecclesiam, id est in corda fidelium, transmittunt…." Durandus, *Rationale,* 20. A century earlier Suger commented on the importance of light to the instruction of the faithful:

Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret
Clarificet mentes, ut eant per lumina vera
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.
Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta:
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,
Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit.
Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis,* 46–48.

62 "[I]tem per fenestras quinque sensus corporis significantur qui extra stricti esse debent ne uanitates hauriant…." Durandus, *Rationale,* 20.

63 Jacobus of Voragine, *Golden Legend,* 392. "[C]ruces in ecclesia depinguntur, quod quidem fit triplici ratione. Primo propter daemonum terrorem, ut scilicet daemones, qui inde expulsi sunt, videntes signum crucis terreantur et illuc ingredi non praesumant. Timent enim valde signum crucis, unde Chrysostomus: ubicumque daemones signum dominicum viderint, fugiunt timentes baculum, quo plagam acceperunt. Secundo propter triumphi ostensionem: cruces enim sunt vexilla Christi et signa ejus triumphi, unde, ut ostendatur, quod locus ille Christi dominio subjugatus est, ideo ibidem cruces depinguntur. Nam et apud imperialem magnificentiam observatur, ut, quando aliqua civitas ei traditur, imperiale vexillum in ea erigitur. In hujus figuratione dicitur Genes. XXVIII, quod Jacob lapidem, quem supposuerat capiti suo, erexit in titulum, videlicet in titulum praeconialem, memorialem et triumphalem. Tertio propter apostolorum repreasentationem, nam illa XII luminaria ante cruces posita significant XII apostolus, qui per fidem crucifixi totum mundum illuminaverunt. Hae igitur cruces illuminantur et chrismate unguntur, quoniam et apostoli fide passionis Christi totum mundum illuminaverunt ad cognitionem, inflammaverunt ad amorem, unxerunt ad conscientiae nitorem, quod per oleum, et ad bonae vitae oderem, quod per balsam intelligitur." *Legenda aurea,* 853. Durandus' explanation is very similar; see *Rationale,* 73–74.

64 "Ecclesiis semel Deo consecratis non debet iterum consecratio adhiberi, nisi aut ab igne exustae, aut sanguinis effusione, aut cujuscumque semine pollutae fuerint." *Decretum* C. 3, D.LXVIII (repeated in c. 20, D. I, *de cons*.).

65 John Theophilus Gulczynski, "The Desecration and Violation of Churches: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1942), 22.

66 Hugh of St. Victor, *Sacraments,* 300.

67 Note that Ivo, Hugh, and Jacobus do not discuss the reinterment of relics in their sections on the consecration of churches. Durandus mentions in passing that "it is to be noted that a church is said to be consecrated in the blood of some one." See *Rationale,* 74: "notandum est quod ecclesia dicitur in sanguine alicuius consecrari…." Though a later passage in his section on the consecration of altars reads "without relics of saints, or where they

cannot be had, without the body of Christ, there a consecration of a fixed altar may not be done." See *Rationale,* 90: "Sane sine sanctorum reliquiis, aut ubi ille haberi non possunt sine corpore Christi, non fit consecratio altaris fixi." The Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century makes it clear that the relics of the saints are integral to the function of sacred place. It is acknowledged that the saint s or saints' presence, which is focused in the relics, is the link between heaven and earth; they facilitate the rupture experienced in sacred places (consider, for example, the oration to God: "Fac nos, domine, sanctorum tuorum tibi specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere" and the antiphon to the saints: "Sub altare domini sedes accepistis; intercedite pro nobis ad dominum qui vos eligit" in *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge,* vol. 1, Le Pontifical romain du XII[e] siècle, 185 and 188, respectively). It appears that the first three authors had been influenced by the Gallican ordo XLI, which emphasized the baptismal aspect of the rite and downplayed the importance of the translation of relics. The Roman ordo XLII, however, emphasized the importance of relics; in fact, this ordo is referred to as the "ordo quommodo in sancta Romana ecclesia reliquae conduntur." Though Durandus adopted a fusion of Ordos XLI and XLII for his late thirteenth-century pontiflcal, it appears that the Gallican ordo had a greater influence on the other authors. The importance of relics was influenced by a belief that the body and spirit never fully separated and that the location of physical remains could attract the attention of the soul they once contained. Durkheim makes this observation (albeit of the Arunta of Australia): "because the soul generally retains a certain affinity for the body in which it once lived, people naturally came to believe that [the] ancestral souls preferred to keep frequenting the places where their physical envelope remained." Durkheim, *Forms,* 281.

68 "Sane uenerabilem locorum alia sunt humane necessitati deputata, alia orationi dicata. Loca humane necessitati deputata sunt xenodochium, xenostorium (quod idem est), uasochomium, ierontachomum, orphanotrophium et bephotrochium. Sancti etenim patres et religiosi principes huiusmodi instituerunt loca in quibus pauperes, peregrini, senes, orphani, infantes, emeriti, infirmi, inbeciles et saucii reciperentur et fouerentur…. Locorum autem orationi dicatorum alia sunt sacra, alia sancta, alia religiosa." Durandus, *Rationale,* 57.

69 "Sancta sunt loca emunitatis seu privilegiata, servitoribus et ministris ecclesiarum deputata, de quibus videlicet sub interminatione certe pene, vel a jure, vel per speciale privilegium interdicitur ne quis illa violare presumat, sicut sunt atria ecclesiarum et in quibusdam locis claustra intra que sunt domus canonicorum, in quibus reis cuiuscumque sceleris confugientibus, si se ibi receperint, securitas prestatur…." Ibid., 58.

70 "Religiosa sunt ubi cadauer hominis integrum vel etiam caput tantum sepelitu…. Ceterum locus iste religiosus diuersimodo appellatur, videlicet cimiterium, poliantrum siue andropolis, quod idem est." Ibid., 58. As Bynum notes, the twelfth-century liturgist John Beleth asserted this shortly after 1165. Sicard of Cremona and Durandus borrowed this idea from him. *Resurrection of the Body,* 201, note 4.

71 "Et nota quod quicquid est sacrum est religiosum sed non contra." Durandus, *Rationale,* 58. Note that although Durandus doesn't specifically say that cemeteries have the privilege of sanctuary, he does say some people maintain that the dead should be buried within 30 paces of the exterior of the church, others within the circuit the bishop makes around the church. In either case this suggests that cemeteries would fall within the 30 paces circuit (or 60 paces if they were part of a major church) of sanctuary all churches enjoyed according to the *Corpus luris Canonici*.

72 "Many of the prohibitions between sacred things are reducible, I think, to the prohibition between sacred and profane. This is true for the prohibitions of age or grade…. The more sacred repels the less sacred, but this is because, compared to the first, the second is profane." Durkheim, *Forms,* 306, note 7.

73 *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae* (*BN, Nouv*. Acq. Lat. 232, fol. 4^r–163^r): "distinguitur etiam ecclesia in duas partes…cancellum et navum." Marie-Thérèse d'Alvernay, "Les Mystères de l'église d'après Pierre Roissy" in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet,* vol. 2, edited by Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers: Société d'Études Médiévales, 1966), 1096.

For an even more focused and exclusive take on the church/body metaphor, see Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body,* translated by David S.Peterson (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) where he discusses an observation of Honorius of Autun: "According to the highest representatives of this churchly metaphorizing, Honorius Augustodunensis, the 'body of the church' *(corpus Ecclesiae)* was made up of seven members—eyes, hair, teeth, lips, knees, neck, the two shoulders—corresponding to the seven 'orders of the elect' *(ordines electorum)*. They were the seven members of the bride (the church), 'praised by the groom [Christ] because they follow the precepts of Christ.'" (70) His section "Corpus Ecclesiae" (70–71) discusses how the metaphor applies specifically to papal bodies.

74 Yves Delaporte, "A propos de la déviation de l'axe des églises," *Memoires de la Société d'Eure-et-Loir* XVI(1936): 149–52. "Pour Pierre de Roissy, l'église se compose de deux parties: le chancel, ou abside, et la nef, réunies, le cas échéant, par la croisée (ou transept). Pour lui, le chancel n'est pas, spécifiquement, le lieu de l'autel, mais le lieu du clergé, comme la nef est le lieu du peuple…. Il paraît bien évident que l'église à laquelle pense Pierre de Roissy n'est pas la cathédrale gothique, mais la basilique romaine," 151.

75 See also Durandus: "Sane olim templum erat in duas partes, interposito velo, diuisum; pars prior uocabatur sancta, interior uero sancta sanctorum." *Rationale,* 243.

76 "Cortina ante quae sancta, id est inter populum et clerum pendet velamen litterae significat, per quod iis qui sub lege erant veritas adhuc Evangelii tegebatur. Cortina illa quae inter sancta et Sancta sanctorum, hoc est inter clerum et sanctuarium suspensa est, significat velamen mortalis naturae; per quod a nobis etiam sub gratia positis adhuc secreta coelestia absconduntur." Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis, PL,* 176: col. 474. Also see Durandus, *Rationale,* 46: "Circa hoc autem notandum est quod triplex

genus veli suspenditur in ecclesia, videlicet quod sacra operit, quod sanctuarium a clero diuidit, et quod clerum a populo secernit."

77 Jacobus of Voragine, *Golden Legend,* 391: "Vel triplex circuitus signat triplicem statum salvandorum de ecclesia, qui sunt virgines continentes et conjugati. Haec etiam desig nantur in dispositione materialis ecclesiae, sicut ostendit Richardus de sancto Victore. Nam sanctuarium signat ordinem virginum, chorus ordinem continentium, corpus conjugatorum. Strictius est sanctuarium quam chorus et chorus quam corpus, quia pauciores sunt virgines quam continentes et continentes quam conjugati. Sanctior est etiam locus sanctuarii quam chorus et chorus quam corpus, quia dignior est ordo virginum quam continentium et continentium quam conjugatorum." *Legenda aurea,* 852. In their edition of the *Rationale* Davril and Thibodeau note that this model is wrongly attributed to Richard in the *Legenda aurea* and should be ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor: "*male* Richardus, apud lacobum de Vorag., *Legenda aurea* c. 182, De dedicat. eccles. (ed. Graesse, 1846, p. 851–852); *recte* Hugo A S.Victore, *Sermones centum* c. 1 (PL 177, 902B)." *Rationale,* 17.

78 "[E]t secundum Ricardum de Sancto Victore dispositio ecclesie triplicem statum in Ecclesia significat saluandorum; sanctuarium enim significat ordinem uirginum, chorus continentium, corpus coniugatorum. Strictius enim est sanctuarium quam chorus et chorus quam corpus quia pauciores sunt uirgines quam continentes et isti quam coniugati; sacratior quoque est locus sanctuarii quam chorus, et chorus quam corpus, quia Durandus, *Rationale,* 17. In his introduction to the Latin edition of the Rationale, Timothy Thibodeau suggests that Durandus seems to have known Hugh of St. Victor's as well as other writers' works first hand: "desquels il a incorporé une partie substantielle dans le *Rationale,* sans les citer explicitement," xvii.

79 "Dès le XII^e siècle apparaît un type de monument analogue à celui de Chartres, où la chaire à prêcher, *l'ambon,* n'existe plus. Il consiste en une galerie continue, placée en avant des deux piliers du bas du choeur et séparant celui-ci de la nef. Cette galerie est supportée par des voûtes qui reposent du côté du choeur sur un mur plein percé d'une ou deux portes permettant de faire communiquer le choeur avec la nef. En avant, les voûtes reposent sur un portique, dont le nombre des colonnes varie selon les églises. Il est souvent déterminé par la distance qui sépare les deux piliers du bas du choeur. On accède à la platforme supérieure par deux escaliers qui sont en générale placés à l'extérieure contre le mur du côté du choeur." Jean Mallion, *Chartres: Le jubé de la cathédrale* (Chartres: Société d'Eure-et-Loir, 1964), 189. Rosalind and Christopher Brooke have suggested that the height of rood screens rose during the central and late Middle Ages: "All that we can say is that the general conception of a great basilica presupposes a new desire in the 11th century for buildings to be regarded as single enormous rooms; that no surviving evidence contradicts the possibility that low screens were the norm. All that we know of screens in the late 12th and 13th centuries suggests that they were growreally occurred. It may well be that there was much difference of taste and practice in ing higher and more opaque. Our very ignorance may suggest a

simpler chronology than 11th-13th century Europe, in all kinds of furnishing. But the general picture, of increasing furniture and growing segregation of nave, choir, sanctuary, shrines, chapels—this seems inescapable…. In the 14th and 15th centuries the choir and high altar, the most sacred parts of the church, had once again, in most parts of Europe, to be enclosed, to be hidden, secluded, to have privacy. In great measure, this change in religious sentiment lies beyond our period; but not wholly, for it was foreshadowed by the mighty screens built for Italian and French churches in the 13th century." *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe, 1000–1300* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 89–90.

80 "Dominice incarnationis anno M°C°XV°, obiit pater Ivo…qui…pulpitrum miri decoris construxit…." In *Le Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres,* edited by Eugène de l'Épinois and Lucien Merlet, 3 vols. (Chartres: Garnier, 1865), 3:225.

81 Mallion, *Chartres,* 16.

82 "Cancelli vero quibus altare a choro diuiditur separationem celestium significant a terrenis." Durandus, *Rationale,* 22.

83 "In this arrangement the choir now became in effect the nave of a separate eastern church with the high altar beyond the eastern transepts in what was a second choir, often called the presbytery. The cathedral clergy were being given their own cruciform church in the eastern arm, leaving the nave solely for the common people. Lincoln, Canterbury, Worcester, Rochester and Hereford all have similar eastern transepts." Paul Stollard et al., "The Social History of the English Medieval Cathedral" *History Today* 43 (1993): 15–24.

84 "Many [monastic] houses made available the nave of the church, or a part of it, to a parochial congregation." Roberta Gilchrist, "Community and Self: Perceptions and Use of Space in Medieval Monasteries" *Scottish Archaeological Review* 6 (1989): 55–64.

85 The etymology of *paradisus,* which could indicate a number of outer areas of a church (vestibule, porch, narthex, parvis, churchyard), suggests gradiated sacredness in the church building.

86 Ralph Adams Cram, *Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in Their Relation to the Church,* 3d ed. (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1924 [1901]), 89. "I need hardly say that the chancel and sanctuary are not only the most sacred portions of a building consecrated to the service of God, but almost *the* church, the nave being but an adjunct of more or less size provided for the shelter and the convenience of the worshipper."

87 "Prius est ut de ecclesia et eius partibus uideamus. Notandum est igitur quod ecclesiarum alia est corporalis in qua uidelicet diuina officia celebrantur, alia spiritualis que est fidelium collectio…." Durandus, *Rationale,* 11.

88 Durandus also refers to the nave as *ecclesia* (*Rationale,* 42). Bynum notes "the tendency to use synedoche to refer to the saints." *Resurrection of the Body,* 178, note 73. It may be that Durandus used synedoche to refer to the church body as well.

89 "Les prêtres mariés ou concubinaires seront exclus de l'autel et du choeur s'ils ne viennent pas a résipiscence. S'ils s'obstinent dans leur péché, ils

seront complètement exclus de l'Église; on ne devra même pas les admettre à la communion laïque. Il en sera de même pour les diacres." *Histoire des Conciles d'après les Documents Originaux*, edited by Karl Joseph von Hefele, translated by H.Leclerq (Hildesheim; New York: G.Olmos, 1973 [1907–1952]), 5, pt. 1:501. For the canon issued during 1108, see 503–504.

90 "Illud autem notandum est quod in quacumque parte ecclesie uel cimiterii uiolentia uel pollutio committatur, utrumque et etiam quelibet eorum partes propter connexitatem uiolate intelliguntur. Etsi enim consecrationes ecclesie, altaris et cimiterii sint diuerse, omnium tamen una et eadem est emunitas que non est ad alterum eorum tantum uel ad alterius angulum restringenda, quod uerum est si ecclesia et cimiterium sunt coniuncta. Si enim unum a reliquo distet, bene potest unum sine reliquo uiolari." Durandus, *Rationale,* 82–83. Durandus acknowledges that there are some people who maintain that the pollution of one does not result in the pollution of the other. He adds that this is in opposition to the authority of the pontifical, which does not contain a special form for the reconciliation of cemeteries: "tamen pontificalis libri obuiat auctoritas in qua specialis forma reconciliationis cimiterii non habetur." Ibid, 83.

91 "The word *asylum* is based on the Greek *asulon* (□□□□ov), meaning, literally, 'without right of seizure.' *Sanctuary* (in Latin *sanctuarium*) denotes a place for keeping sacred things. Subsequently *sanctuary* came to mean 'a sacred or inviolable place of refuge.'" Larry Joseph Kirby, "Sanctuary: The Right of Asylum in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*" (M.A. diss., Catholic University of America, 1986), 1.

92 Ibid., 10.

93 C. 6, C. XVII, q.4: "Sicut antiquitus a sanctis Patribus statutum est, statuimus, ut maior ecclesia per circuitum LX passus habeat, capellae vero vel minores ecclesiae XXX…." Quoted in Kirby, "Sanctuary," 15, note 3. Kirby notes that the Ordinary Gloss states that a pace is equal to five feet, so that a major church would enjoy the privilege of 300 feet of sanctuary whereas a chapel or minor church would only have 150 feet in circumference. The status of a place of prayer was not only indicated by the size of its sanctuary privilege but also by the fine imposed for its violation. Charles Cox, *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Medieval England* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1911), 9, mentions that under the twelfth-century *Leis Williame,* the fine for seizing a fugitive from a cathedral or abbey church was 100s, but from a parish church or chapel only 70s and 10s, respectively.

94 Guido of Baysio on C. 20, C. XVII, q.4: "Et arg. huius literae videtur quod ecclesiae et cymiterium gaudent eodem privilegio." Quoted in Kirby, "Sanctuary," 16, note 8.

95 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 223–24:

> Metre le firent, com par ire,
> En une angle dou cemetire
> Ou n'i avoit pas leu honeste.
> Processïon ne autre feste

A enterrer le cors ne firent.
D'un pou de terre le couvrirent,
Qu'il n'ot ne tonbe ne sarqueu.

Gaston Bachelard notes that the corner can symbolize a negation of the universe, a silent existence. By burying this canon in a corner of the cemetery the other members of the community expressed their disapproval of him; his marginal character in life was indicated by the placement of his body in holy ground. See *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at how we Experience Intimate Places,* translated by Maria Jolas with a foreword by John R.Stilgoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994 [1958]), 136–37. Bynum writes: "Body was emphasized in all its particularity and physicality both because of the enormous importance attached to proper burial and because of the need to preserve difference (including gender, social status, and personal experience) for all eternity." Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, xviii.

96 "[I]n the twelfth century, however, we also find organic images for the redeemed self. William of St. Thierry wrote that flesh flowers when fertilized by spirit; Peter the Venerable thought the bones of his mother would grow to new life in the resurrection; Hildegard of Bingen, Guerric of Igny, and Thomas the Cisterican spoke of bodies not only as pearls but also as gardens. Thus it is not surprising to find that the years around 1200 saw new and extravagant tales of bodily process. Such miracles, like the popular miracles of stasis, expressed triumph over decay." Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 224.

97 Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert de Nogent,* translated with an introduction by Paul J.Archambault (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 164. "Terra receptui ejus semicavata…." *Guibert de Nogent: Histoire de sa vie (1053–1124),* edited by Georges Bourgin (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907), 175.

98 Archambault, *Monk's Confession*, 85–86: "We have seen in our own time the confirmation of what Saint Gregory said about the judgments of God being renewed over the bodies of the guilty; for it is then clear they should not have been buried in sacred ground." "Videmus his temporibus, quae apud beatum Gregorium referuntur, super noxiorum cadaveribus Dei judicia innovari, quos per sacra loca constat indebite tumulari." Bourgin, *Guibert de Nogent*, 91.

99 "Partly because of the developing doctrine of purgatory, partly because of increasing insistence that the beatific vision could be received before the Last Judgment, partly because of the adoption by at least some theologians of a fully Aristotelian idea of form, eschatological discussion in 1300 tended to focus on soul, although material continuity as a component of bodily resurrection was not discarded. But in the twelfth century, scholastic accounts of last things emphasized body." Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body,* 135.

100 A league is approximately three miles; see Douglas Smith, *The Sanctuary at Durham* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1971), 6.

101 Guido of Baysio on C. 36, C. XVII, q.4: "esse verum, ubi domus episcopalis non habet capellam…nam domus canonici si est extra, non gaudebit tali priveligio, si non habet capellam." Quoted in Kirby, "Sanctuary," 16, note 9.

102 Durandus, *Rationale,* 58.

103 Garnier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence, *Garnier's Becket: Translated from the TwelfthCentury Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr de Cantorbire of Garnier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence,* translated by Janet Shirley (London: Phillimore, 1975). The most recent Old French edition is *La vie de saint Thomas le martyr,* edited by Emmanuel Walberg (Paris: H. Champion, 1971 [1936]). The page numbers in this monograph correspond to the 1936 edition.

104 *Garnier's Becket,* 144 (lines 5436–5439); *La vie de saint Thomas,* 167:

> Pur ç'atendi iluec e ne volt pas fuïr,
> Car il ert a seür e tuz prez de murir.
> Quida qu'um ne l'osast el mustier asaillir:
> Pur ç'atendi iluec, ne volt la mort guenchir.

105 "[M]inoris reverentiae loco…." *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury,* vol. 2, edited by James Craigie Robertson (Millwoods, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965 [1875–85]), 434.

106 This excerpt from Edward Grim's narrative of Becket's murder is translated in *English Historical Documents, 1042–1189,* 2d ed., vol. 2, edited by David C.Douglas and George W.Greenaway (London: Eyre Methuen; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 816. Hereafter cited as *EHD.*

107 *Garnier's Becket,* 145 (lines 5491–5492); *La vie de saint Thomas,* 169:

> Tresque dur les degrez del Nort l'unt fait aler;
> A guarant as cors sainz le voleient mener.

108 *Garnier's Becket,* 135 (line 5095); *La vie de saint Thomas,* 157:

> Ja mustier ne altel ne tens n'i guarderunt.

109 *Garnier's Becket,* 148, (lines 5584–5585); *La vie de saint Thomas,* 172:

> Quant ne porent le saint hors del mustier geter,
> Enz el chief de l'espee grant colp li vait duner….

110 *Garnier's Becket,* 148 (lines 5571–5575); *La vie de saint Thomas,* 171–72:

> Maistre Eduvard le tint, que qu'il l'unt desachié.
> 'Que volez, fait il, faire? Estes vus enragié?
> Esguardez u vus estes e quel sunt li feirié.
> Main sur vostre arcevesque metez a grant pechié!'
> Mais pur feirié ne l'unt, ne pur mustier, laissié.

111 "Idem etiam priuilegium habet non consecrata in qua diuina officia celebrantur." Durandus, *Rationale,* 28. See also Norman Maclaren

Trenholme, *The Right of Sanctuary in England: A Study in Institutional History* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1903), 13. Durandus acknowledges the existence of civil sanctuary as being similar to religious sanctuary, but locates the sites of the secular privilege in doors and theaters of cities: "in quibus reis cuiuscumque sceleris confugientibus, si se ibi receperint, securitas prestatur et, secundum statuta legalia, porte et theatra ciuitatum." *Rationale,* 58.

112 "As can be seen in these texts, a constant concern emerges: reverence for the church, consecrated at least by the celebration of the divine offices there. It may be proposed, therefore, that the violation of the right of asylum was in part (and perhaps primarily) a violation of a holy place; that is, in violating the right of asylum, a sacrilege had been committed." Kirby, "Sanctuary," 13.

113 Trenholme, *Right of Sanctuary*, 47–48.

114 Perhaps further research will explain the precise nature of chartered sanctuaries. It is unclear whether they were expressions of the medieval ideal of cooperation between *sacerdotium* and *regnum* or examples of the English monarchy subsuming ecclesiastical privilege. Also unclear is the ultimate source of their authority.

115 "Cancellus humilior debet esse, quia Christus, inclinato capite, emisit spiritum, et significat quod clerus humilior esse debet populo. Unde: Quanto maior es, tanto te humilia in omnibus." D'Alverny, "Mystères de l'église," 1096. This biblical quotation, which is repeated by Durandus in a slightly different form below, may be found in the apocryphal book of Sirach, also known as Ecclesiasticus, 3, 18: "The greater you are, the more you must humble yourself." The book of Sirach is not included in the New Revised Standard Version but may be found in The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha.

116 "Cancellus, id est caput ecclesie, humilior reliquo corpore, Ecclesie misticat quanta humilitas debeat esse in clero seu prelato, iuxta illud: 'Quanto maior es, humilia te in omnibus.'" Durandus, *Rationale,* 22. A literary parallel to this sentiment is the pope referring to himself as the servant of the servants of God.

Writing in response to debate on the subject appearing in the *Bulletin Monumental,* Delaporte points out that the axial deviations of the floors of some Gothic cathedrals, however, do not have a symbolic meaning. ("A propos de la déviation de l'axe des églises," 152) Although his article was published in 1930, van der Meulen confirmed Delaporte's observations in the bibliography published in 1989 (*Chartres,* 554). It appears that deviations of axes were usually caused by functional considerations (such as orientations of earlier structures or expansions within limited space) rather than a concern for symbolism.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 For one of the more recent surveys of Chartres as the heavenly Jerusalem, see Anne Prache's popular work *Chartres Cathedral: Image of the Heavenly*

Jerusalem, translated by Janice Abbott (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993). Prache is Vice-President of the International Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum and Professor of History of Medieval Art at the Sorbonne.

2 *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres,* edited by Pierre Kunstmann (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir; Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973).

3 Ibid., 8.

4 See Jan van der Meulen, "State of Research: Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral" *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967):152–72. Also see pages 21–24 in Jan van der Meulen, Rüdiger Hoyer, and Deborah Cole, *Chartres: Sources and Literary Interpretation: A Critical Bibliography,* Reference Publications in Art History, edited by Herbert Kessler (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1989), 46–47.

5 "Traduction des 'Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres' (texte latin et poème français du XIII siècle)," translated by Guy Villette (Multigraphed typescript, 1976), 1: "Le texte latin [est une] oeuvre d'un clerc qui habitait Chartres au moins depuis 1197, contemporain et parfois témoin des miracles qu'il décrit…. Une mention du XVI^e^ siècle, incontrôlable, assure que l'auteur était un prêtre nommé Gilon."

6 Kunstmann's edition contains both the Latin and Old French versions. Abbé Guy Villette has done a modern French translation of both versions that remains unpublished (see note above). The Latin *Miracles* may be found in MS Regina 339 in the Vatican Library, which is probably a copy of the original. They were first published by Antoine Thomas in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 42, (1882):505–50. The Old French version may be found in MS Chartres BM 1027, which was a casualty of a stray American bomb that hit the Bibliothèque municipale (BM) on May 26, 1944; only ten usable fragments remain. For more on the manuscript tradition, see Kunstmann, 2–12.

The BM estimates that it lost approximately 80% of its manuscripts to the bomb (a town's man I spoke with during a research trip to the cathedral was seven at the time and still remembers the day he saw pieces of burning paper drifting through the sky). Although some manuscripts survived and others remain in the Archives départmentales, many extant sources for twelfth- and thirteenth-century chartrain history are published. A further difficulty is that a number of the surviving manuscripts are badly burned, and the staff of the BM will not allow them to be handled. Since the BM does not have microfilming capabilities, these documents cannot be seen and there are no immediate plans for microfilming. The works of scholars who had studied Chartres before 1944 and who had access to the manuscripts that were later destroyed are, therefore, important sources for a study of chartrain history.

7 "Pourtant, la proximité de Paris ne lui nuit pas encore de façon vraiment sensible." André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XI^e^—XIII^e^ s.)* (Chartres: Garnier, 1991 [1973]), 505.

8 Ibid. "…Chartres, évêché royal, accueillit à plusiers reprises des assemblées de grands, convoqués par le souverain (comme en 1130 et en 1150)."

9 Ibid. "Aussi, la littérature épique témoigne-t-elle encore au milieu du XII^{e} siècle que Chartres pouvait être désignée à l'égal de Paris comme l'une des résidences royales."
10 For a note on Chartres' school, see below.
11 For a detailed discussion of Chartres' demographics in this period see "Le Poids des Generations" in Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 65–105.
12 Philippe Wolff, "Les villes de France au temps de Philippe Auguste," in *La France de Philippe Auguste*. *Le Temps des Mutations*, edited by Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: 1982), 660. Quoted in Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (London; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 33.
13 Ibid., quoted in Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 33.
14 Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 527. "Le XI^{e} siècle, c'est le siècle de l'imagination…."
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 528. Williams notes that "Wool production was the most important trade in the town, the only one, as far as we know, that exported outside the region." (*Bread, Wine, & Money*, 11)
17 Ibid., 528–29. "Situées trop au nord pour la viticulture, mais trop au sud pour la draperie, elles ne parvinrent pas à tirer parti d'un monde plus ouvert."
18 Ibid., 76.
19 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 31–32.
20 Ibid., "The Historical Circumstances," 19–36. In their introduction to the cathedral's cartulary the editors assert that the secular and religious authorities were in a constant state of war. (1:cxxviii) See *Le Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, 3 vols., edited by Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet (Chartres: Garnier, 1862–1865) (hereafter *CND*). Williams' description of the historical background to the cathedral's construction reduces complicated relationships between secular and religious people to primarily political and economic struggle. As she seeks to (rightly) correct the previous scholarship that stressed the piety and harmony of the chartrain community she emphasizes political and economic motives to the exclusion of lay devotion. Hopefully future histories of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Chartres will draw on both approaches to produce balanced historical contexts that reflect the complexity of medieval religiosity.
21 For examples of tension within the chapter see *CND*, 1:#129, pages 249–50; 2:#237, pages 95–96 and #246, page 103. For the strife between bishop and chapter see *CND*, 1:#124, pages 245–46, and #125, page 246; 2:#144, 3–6. Also see Williams' list of the papal documents confirming the chapter's rights and privileges (*Bread, Wine, & Money*, 161, note 15).
22 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 22. On the same page she notes that "Count Louis of Blois and Chartres (died 1205) gave charters of franchise to Blois and Châteaudun but not to Chartres, undoubtedly because of the hostility of the bishop and canons."
23 See *CND*, 1:#121, 229–43, where a count tries to continue the taxation of servants who had entered the cloister. Such efforts sometimes had violent

consequences. Chédeville notes the arrangement also made the servants unhappy since now they were subject to the taxes of a chapter that was trying to raise the money necessary to reconstruct its cathedral. (Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 377) He describes the servants as "soumis à l'administration rigoureuse voire tatillonne du chapitre qui recherchait à ce moment l'argent nécessaire pour reconstruire la cathédrale incendiée en 1194." In 1195, one year after the conflagration, Pope Celestine permitted the dean and chapter to prevent their servants from forming a commune. (*Bread, Wine, & Money*, 24)

Williams notes that "During the building of the cathedral, the secular rule was held most of the time by widowed countesses whose income was seriously depleted by the cost of their husbands' fatal crusades." *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 22.

24 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 24.

25 The Latin reads "Contigit in urbe Carnotensi, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo CCX, mense octobri, die quadam dominica, post prandium, quod vulgi pars maxima in Willelmum decanum ejusque familiam violenter insurgere et domum ipsius, que in claustro Beate-Marie sita est, violare presumpserit, eo scilicet quod unus ex memorati decani servientibus ausus fuerat in eodem claustro, sicut dicebatur, cuidam rustico de villa, servo scilicet Comtisse, minis duntaxat et convitiis injuriam intulisse. Cumque ministri Comitisse qui civibus preerant universis, marescallus videlicet et prepositus, requisiti fuissent a Capitulo, etiam ex parte Regis, quatinus furiosam vulgi multitudinem a clasutro repellerent, vel eorum furorem pro tradita sibi potestate comprimerent, noluerunt, sed impellere potius populum quam repellere, et augere furorem magis quam comprimere conti sunt, misso etiam per urbem precone qui per vicos et plateas clamabat quantinus universi cum armis ad domum decani diruendam irruerent…. Sane decanus, ut primum furentis populi rabiem vidit increscere, ad ecclesiam confugit… multi ex eadem sacrilega multitudine vulnerati sunt, quorum nonnulli morte non ommerita corruerunt…. Depredatio enim illa noctis tempore candellis accensis, facta est; et sic opus tenebrarum, quod tempore lucis inceperant, in nocte cosummaverunt." The account may be found in *CND*, 2:#203, 56–57.

It should be kept in mind that Bishop Renaud de Mouçon was away at the time of the riot. He was participating in the Albigensian Crusade. Williams thinks that the Bishop "must have pressed his economic exploitation of the town to the limit when he prepared to go on the Albigensian Crusade in 1210. However, according to John James, Bishop Renaud's return from the Albigensian Crusade late in 1210 marked the beginning of increased building activity, suggesting that the bishop may have undertaken the crusade with the expectation of gain, and returned with considerable plunder." *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 33. She refers to John James, "What Price the Cathedrals?" *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 19 (1972):47–65.

26 *CND*, 2:#218, 77–78.

27 Williams notes that the murderer, Colinus, "was a brother of one of the canons, Hugh of Chavernay. The Cantor Lepine wanted to punish the

murderers of the two *avoués* severely, and according to Lépinois, Chavernay, whose family were town burghers, had taken the murderers as *avoués* to protect them." *Bread, Wine, & Money,* 166, note 66. See *CND,* 2:#324, 165–66. She defines *avoués* as "men and women [who] were made serfs of an ecclesiastic, or transferred from burgerhood to the service of an ecclesiastic, or were called into service *(advocare);* hence, these serfs came to be called *advocati* in later thirteenth-century documents. Modern literature uses the French *avoués* to describe these domestic serfs, but they were not like *avoués* in other towns, who usually were armed protectors of the churchmen and their property." (22–23)

28 *CND,* 2:156–57.

29 Eugène de Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* 2 vols. (Chartres: Garnier, 1854–1858; anatastic reprint, Bruxelles: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1976), 142. *CND,* 2:#324, 165–66.

30 Jan van der Meulen, "Angrenzende Bauwerke der Kathedrale von Chartres" *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 16 (1974):5–45.

31 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money,* 28.

32 Ibid.

33 John James, *The Contractors of Chartres,* 2 vols. (Wyong, Australia: Mandorla Publications, 1979 [vol. 1] and 1981 [vol. 2]), 1:202–207. In a private e-mail of October 3, 1997, James maintained that "The temporary roof made access to the vaults above them difficult, and the inside doors solved that problem."

34 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money,* 29. Although the author is right to draw our attention to the hostility between religious and secular authorities in an attempt to correct idealized views of the relationship, it should be kept in mind that such tension was common and was not peculiar to Chartres.

35 For example, Otto von Simson believed that the building project was supported by the town as a whole. See *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order,* 3d ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988 [1st ed. 1956]), 163–64.

Chédeville notes a change in the local administration that was important to the building campaign. Until the twelfth century four prevots who enjoyed important prebends were in charge of the temporal administration of the town. Unfortunately, these officials were often inefficient and corrupt. The administration was later exercised with more integrity by prebend canons. The reform begun in 1171 was realized by October 1193 when the revenue of the prebends was doubled. Chédeville posits that this sudden increase in fortune made the canons more willing to begin an ambitious building project. "La réforme entreprise par Guillaume-aux-Blanches-Mains en 1171 ne fut achevée par Renaud de Mousson qu'en octobre 1193: elle aurait abouti à doubler le revenu des prébendes. Les chanoines soudain enrichis hésitèrent peut-être moins devant le plan grandiose qui leur était soumis. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'Eglise de Chartres pouvait supporter une bonne partie des frais…." (*Chartres et ses campagnes,* 514)

36 Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes,* 519. "Une seule certitude ressort de cette analyse. La plupart des ressources nécessaires à l'érection du chef-

d'oeuvre de l'art gothique sont d'origine locale. Les campagnes en fournirent l'essentiel: là s'étendaient les domaines de chapitre, responsable de l'ouvrage; de là venaient la grande majorité des pieux visiteurs. La ville joua aussi son rôle dont l'ampleur est plus difficile à préciser. En tout cas, les offrandes des pèlerins venus de loin, la générosité des princes—facteurs plus importants à Notre-Dame de Chartres que dans d'autres cathédrales célèbres—ne tinrent au total qu'une place secondaire. Sans craindre le paradoxe, on peut dire que ce sont les moissons de la Beauce et du Perche qui ont fourni les moyens d'affirmer que l'homme ne vit pas seulement de pain…."

37 Van der Meulen et al., *Chartres: Sources and Literary Interpretation,* 46–47.

38 "Il est donc incontestable que, sur le plan purement économique, la cathédrale coûta beaucoup plus à la région qu'elle ne rapporta à la ville." *Chartres et ses campagnes,* 524. For examples of the kinds of hostilities that could surface in building communities, see Barbara Abou-el-Haj's discussion of Santiago de Compostela and La Madeleine de Vézelay in *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 19–25.

39 The century between 1140 and 1240 was an extremely active period of building in the Paris basin. James estimates that 1,284 churches built during these years survive. He notes, though, that this is only a partial representation of the total number since the estimate does not account for those churches that did not survive and for those that were later rebuilt. John James, *Chartres: The Masons who Built a Legend* (London; Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1982), 15–18.

40 See for example Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990), 31–60.

41 Its success, however, appears to have been limited given that the bulk of the construction was financed by the fundraising canons.

42

Kunstmann, Miracles, 52:	Villette, "Traduction," 15:
Des miracles qu'el fist oëz Quel merite et quel guerredon El donna a cels qui le don Li firent, l'onneur, le servise Par quoy fu refaicte s'eglise….	A propos des miracles qu'elle fit, entendez Quel mérite et quelle récompense Elle donna à ceux qui lui firent Le don, l'honneur et le service Grâce auxquels fut rebâtie son église….

The English translation in the text is from the Old French.

43 Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes,* 510–12.

44 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money,* 31.

45 In the introduction to his translation of the *Miracles,* Villette notes that Jean Le Marchant made a translation into Old French so that non-clerics, those who had not studied Latin, would understand them. The Latin version of the miracles may have been intended for clergy within the 100 kilometer radius.

46 The *sancta camisia* is discussed below.

47 Patrick J.Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990 [1978]), 21.

48 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 170–82.

49 Geary, *Furta Sacra,* 21–22 and 130. Geary defines the central Middle Ages as the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

50 "[S]i la renomée des reliques de Notre-Dame déborde dans la moitié des cas le cadre du Chartrain, elle ne sort guère des limites de l'antique cité des Carnutes, et elle ne suffit pas à élever Chartres au rang des grands pèlerinages populaires du monde médiéval." Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes,* 512. This failure is almost certainly related to another of his observations, that Chartres was removed from the great currents of exchange of the central Middle Ages: "A l'écart des grandes routes, Chartres et sa région ne pouvaient espérer une prospérité nouvelle du commerce ou de l'industrie…. Situées trop au nord pour la viticulture, mais trop au sud pour la draperie, elles ne parvinrent pas à tirer parti d'un monde plus ouvert." (528–29)

51 "Au fond, le Chartrain a connu l'évolution des pays convenablement dotés par la nature mais placés en dehors des grands courants d'échanges." Ibid., 529.

52 Guibert of Nogent's observation that the Virgin's "name and relics are worshipped at Chartres as objects of veneration for virtually the whole Latin world" probably reveals a local bias rather than a historical reality. Archambault, *Monk's Confession,* 56.

53 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 68–69. The translation is from the Old French. As a rule of thumb, if an Old French selection is translated in the text, the Old French will be cited in the notes first; if a Latin selection is translated in the text, the original Latin will appear first in the footnote; when only the Old French is available, I cite it in the note first and follow it with Villette's modern French translation.

Par droit doit donc estre creü Qu'en terre a ce leu esleü La damë de Chartres se clayme, Quant ell I a tresor si chier. Donc je puis, por voir, afichier Et prouver, par droite raison,	ostendens quod locum illum, quasi singulariter diligeret ac precipue, et eamdem ecclesiam tanquam speciale domicilium sibi elegerat in terris. Nec mirum sane si eam pre ceteris diligat ecclesiis, que tanto dilectionis sue ab antiquo

Que c'est sa plus mestre maison Et sa chambre plus deliteuse, Quant sa chemise precïeuse I a mise la dame en garde.	pignore insignita est, illa videlicet insigni et sacrosancta camisia….

54 Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 145. For a discussion of the personal and universal character of the cult of the Virgin, see chapter 8, "The Miracles of the Virgin," 132–65.

55 In *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995 [1978]) Victor and Edith Turner suggest that medieval Europe experienced a "pilgrimage polycentrism" to compensate for "the lost compact shrine cluster in Palestine, where Jesus' life and death had been mapped on a limited cultural space." (233) The result was that in the Middle Ages there was intense competition between the many shrines that had surfaced in western Europe.

56 See Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 64, line 123 where Mary refers to Chartres as "ma mestre iglise" and 52, lines 12–14 where Le Marchant writes that Chartres is the place "Ou especïal chambre a prise/Son mestre estage et son manoir/ Ou il li plest plus a manoir." Ward notes that the author of the miracles of St. Mary of Rocamadour, which was completed by 1172, makes the same claim for his church. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 147–48.

57 Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 155.

58 BM 588, fol. 370v: "Commemoratio beatae Mariae Virginis loco dedicationis…." For discussion of the controversy surrounding the dedication of the cathedral, see Yves Delaporte, "Notes sur la fête de la dédicace de Notre-Dame de Chartres," *La Voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (October 1960): 151–59. Delaporte refers to Souchet, who in the sixteenth century suggested that the cathedral had not been dedicated because a miraculous apparition of the Virgin, which is recounted in the *Miracles,* sufficed (Jean-Baptiste Souchet, *Histoire du diocèse et de la ville de Chartres,* 4 vols. (Chartres: 1866–73), 3:49). Delaporte believes that Souchets explanation is plausible, adding that it did not find support when he wrote it. Also see van der Meulen, "State of Research," and van der Meulen et al., *Chartres: Sources and Literary Interpretation,* 42–47.

59 Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1964 [1959]): 60.

60 Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 130–31.

I thank my husband for calling my attention to a movement in the Roman Catholic Church that is currently lobbying the pope to proclaim Mary as Mediatrix. According to the petition of the Vox Populi Mariae Mediatrici (Voice of the People for Mary Mediatrix) "Up to the present time in the history of the church, four Marian doctrines have been defined as central Catholic truths by the Church: the Motherhood of God, the Immaculate Conception, the Perpetual Virginity of Mary, and her Glorious Assumption into heaven. It is now time for the church, at the summit of this Marian era,

to proclaim and define the fifth and final Marian doctrine, that is, Mary's universal mediation as coredemptrix, Mediatrix of all grace, and advocate for the people of God." According to the document the title "Coredemptrix" means that "Mary uniquely participated in the redemption of the human family by Jesus Christ…[but] never places Mary on a level of equality with her Divine Son, Jesus Christ. Rather it refers to Mary's unique human participation which is completely secondary and subordinate to the redeeming role of Jesus…." The title "Mediatrix" signifies that "All the graces which flow from the redemption of Jesus Christ are granted to the human family through the motherly intercession of Mary." The title "Advocate" represents Mary's role as intercessor "in that she takes the petitions of her earthly children, especially in times of difficulties, and brings them through her maternal intercession before her Son…." Vox Populi Mariae Mediatrici, "The Fifth Marian Dogma. Mary: Coredemptrix, Mediatrix, Advocate," http://www.voxpopuli.org/info.php (July 26, 2002). There is significant opposition to this movement, including from members of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches.

61 This is attested to in miracle twenty-seven (Latin)/twenty-eight (Old French). See Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 218:

Cives attoniti nec animis nec armis nec muris confisi, Beate Marie auxilium implorant camisiamque gloriosissime Virginis quam a Constantinopoli ibi allatam unus ex Karolis, qui Calvus dictus est, ibi posuerat, super propugnacula in modum vexilli ventis exponunt.	Lor prindrent la seinte chemise A la mere Dé, qui fu prise Jadis dedenz Constentinoble. Precïeus don en fist et noble A Chartres un grant roi de France: Challes le Chauf ot non d'enfance.

Villette makes the following note in his translation: "Des historiens attribuent à l'année 876 la donation à Chartres par Charles le Chauve (840–877) de la Sainte Chemise de la Vierge. Nous ignorons tout des circonstances de cette donation, du reste très vraisemblable. Nous ne savons ni a qui appartenait, à Constantinople, la relique présumée (grand personnage ou particulier), ni dans quelle circonstance elle en fut apportée." Villette, "Traduction," 154, note 6.

Villette also points out that the Old French version of this miracle mentions two relics: a veil and a tunic. After considering other hypotheses, he posits that there had been two different traditions regarding the relic (one that held the relic as a veil, the other a tunic); when the relic was placed in a châsse in the late tenth century and no one was able to see it, the two traditions continued to circulate. The result was that in the late thirteenth century Jean Le Marchant used the two words (voile and chemise) as

synonyms, thus giving authority to the belief that there were actually two relics when there was actually one: "Que conclure, dans l'état de notre réflexion, en face de textes si divers? Que Charles le Chauve donna à Chartres un *chainse* de la Vierge, enveloppé dans un riche tissu byzantin, le tout provenant de Constantinople dans des circonstances inconnues. Que ce *chainse,* peut-être toujours ou généralement déposé dans un reliquaire, fut interprété le plus souvent faussement comme une 'chemise' (*camisia* avait été la meilleure adaptation latine), parfois (peut-être grâce à des rares initiés ou témoins, mieux infermés) comme un 'voile'. Qu'à partir de la fin du X^{e} siècle, enfermé dans la châsse de Teudon, il ne fut plus vu de personne. Les deux traditions se maintinrent, au point que Le Marchant crut bon d'employer les deux mots comme synonymes (Mir. III, 75 et 98), puis d'ajouter foi à l'existence de deux objets (XXVIII, 88 et 152). Nous possédons bien aujourd'hui, longtemps conserve dans la châsse de Teudon, le *chainse* de la Vierge Marie qui fut donné à Chartres par Charles le Chauve." Ibid., 159.

62 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 269. Here Rubin is drawing on the writing of Mary Douglas. See *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Routledge, 1996 [1970]).

63 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 69–70. The translation is from the Old French:

en meesmes l'enfantement
La dame ce seint vestement
Avoit vestu, celui meïsmes,
Si haut, si precïeus, si seintimes,
Quant le v(e)rai filz Dieu enfanta.
Domques di ge qu'a l'enfant a
Touchié celle seinte chemise,
Croire le devez sans faintise;
Que la chemise, ce me semble,
Toucha a l'un et l'autre ensemble.
Donc c'est arguement necessaire
Que c'est le plus haut saintuaire
Qu'en nul leu puise estre trovez;
Par miracles est esprouvez.

Nec mirum sane si eam pre
ceteris diligat ecclesiis, que
tanto dilectionis sue ab
antiquo pignore insignita
est, illa videlicet insigni et
sacrosancta camisa, quam
eadem virgo dum Dei
filium suo gestaret in utero
induit, et quam ipsa in
puerperio, juxta multorum
assercionem fidelium, circa
renes beatissimos dicitur
habuisse.

64 Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 154.

65 Ibid., 136.
66 Ibid., 132.
67 Ibid., 150.
68 Miri Rubin, "The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily 'Order,'" in *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, England; New York: Routledge, 1994), 114.
69 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 74–75:

cum scrinium sepefatum in inferiorem criptam, cujus introitum laudabilis antiquorum providentia altari Beate Marie proximum fecerat, tempore incendii a quibusdam fuisset delatum et ibidem ita demum a mortis periculo sub Beate Marie inclusi flagrante jam incendio regredi non auderent, protectione salvati sunt….	A trespasser ne refet pas N'il n'est pas droit que jou trepas Un miracle qui autres passe, Qui avint quant la sainte chasse Fu portee aval en la crote, Que l'iglise ert esprise tote. (Si) N'avoit leu qui ne fust espris De feu. Si furent si supris Cil qui la chasse aval porterent, Que l'uis de fer sus aus fermerent, Car il ne p[o]oient arrere Retorner en nulle maniere. Deux jors ou trais, la avall furent, C'onques n'i mengerent ne burent, Car la dame les soustenoit Dom leur sostenance venoit….

70 Le Marchant compares the clerics' predicament to Jonah in the body of the whale, the three children in the fiery furnace, Noah and his family in the ark, and Daniel in the lions' den. See Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 75.
71 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 78:

beata Dei genetrix novam et incomparabilem ecclesiam sibi volens fabricari ad facienda ibidem miracula, ejusdem filii sui potentiam	La haute dame glorïeuse, Qui voloit avoir merveilleuse Iglise et haute et longue et lee, Si que sa per ne fust trovee,

meritis suis et precibus incitavit….	Son douz fils pria doucement Que miracles apertement, En son iglise, a Chartres, feist….

72 *Vieille Chronique,* 1: "dicta ecclesia fundata fuerat, antequam Christus nasceretur, in honorem Virginis Pariture, et regebatur per pontifices ydolorum." Villette has done a modern French translation of the *Vieille Chronique* which, unfortunately, is also unpublished. "Le Chronique chartraine de 1389, dite 'Vieille Chronique,' traduit du Latin," translated by Guy Villette (Documents pour l'histoire de la région chartraine. Multigraphed typescript, 1977). On page 38, note 1, he comments on a potentially confusing coincidence. The tradition of Chartres Cathedral being founded on a pagan site honoring a mother goddess has led some people to believe that the site had been dedicated to Mary before she was even born. This mistaken association, however, was an important part of chartrain legend: "des naïfs ont conclu qu'on y avait vénéré la Vierge, historiquement, avant l'ère chrétienne, avant que Marie n'eût enfanté le Saveur, avant même qu'elle n'eût vécu. La réalité du culte antique de déesse-mères, la probabilité d'un tel culte sur place à l'époque gauloise, ont donné à cette méprise un air de vraisemblance."

The *Vieille Chronique,* which is contained in the *CND,* Vol. I, was written to support the authority of the bishop and chapter. It has three parts: a list of bishops, an account of the church's foundation, and a description of the customs of the chapter, the church's treasures, and a number of bizarre ceremonies. Its title was later assigned to it by chartrain historians.

73 *Vieille Chronique,* 2: "omnes fideles ibi repertos, cum…virgine jam conversa, necaverunt et in putheum magne profunditatis penes dictam ecclesiam existentem precipitaverunt."

74 As Ward notes, William of Malmesbury promoted the feast of the Virgin's Nativity. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 136. Also see William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Virgin,* 2 vols., edited by P.Carter (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1959), 2:369.

75 *Vieille Chronique,* 14. See also Fulbert's *Sermo IV, PL,* 141: col. 320 ff.

76 "The cure of illness by milk from the breast of a saint is associated with the Virgin in general collections of Mary miracles." Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 138.

77 *Vieille Chronique,* 14.

78 Ibid., 40–41:

O gloriosa femina,
Excelsa super sydera,
Qui te creavit provide
Lactas sacrato ubere.

79 "As an attribute in art her breasts, which were cut off, are often shown on a dish. These in the middle ages were often mistaken for loaves, and from this a practice seems to have arisen of blessing bread on St Agatha's feast

which is brought on a dish to the altar." Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints,* 2d ed., vol. 1, edited, revised and supplemented by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics Inc., 1981 [1956]), 256.

80 Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money,* 55.

81 Ibid., 58.

82 *Vieille Chronique,* 21: "[Guillermus] Dorsalia de Incarnationis atque Stephani historia ecclesie contulit."

83 See Jean Mallion, *Chartres: le jubé de la cathédrale* (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1964).

84 Ibid., 193. "Alors que dans les jubés de Laon, de Naumbourg, de Bourges, de Paris, et d'Amiens, le thème développé par les artistes est celui de la Passion, le jubé de Chartres est consacré essentiellement…à l'enfance de Jésus."

85 Ibid. "Ce parti pris d'éviter les scènes relatives aux souffrances du Christ se retrouve dans l'ensemble de la cathédrale…."

86 Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs,* 10: "Many churches in France were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but her role within the whole sculptural decoration of these buildings was a modest one. Greater importance was given to her within the Incarnation cycle on the façades of other churches, although they were not dedicated to her (La Madeleine in Vézelay, Saint-Pierre in Moissac). But is [sic] was on the right-hand portal of Chartres Cathedral, the Notre-Dame par excellence, that her close relation to the Child is revealed along the central axis and her importance as instrument of Christ's Incarnation is made evident."

87 Van der Meulen, "State of Research," 153. "The exact extent of the damage to the older building remains uncertain and controversial: the crypt and the western towers, including the stained glass of the west façade exist today."

88 Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs,* 55: "By comparison with the Royal Portal, the Virgin has moved to the center of the iconographic program. This is only in harmony with the general trend of the time and reflects the growing veneration of Mary…. The Virgin was given a prominent role…at Chartres…the belief in her power finds stronger expression…. In both scenes [Triumph and Last Judgement] she is as large as Christ."

89 Ibid., 96.

90 Ibid., 99.

91 Ibid., 76–77. For a criticism of this viewpoint see Adolf Weis' article in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgechichte* 46 (1983):327–40.

92 Ibid. "Heretics also did not believe that Christ was born of the Virgin and that He had assumed a real human body. To them His Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection meant a mere simile. At Laon and Chartres-North a whole portal is dedicated to the cycle of the Incarnation…. If viewed in relation to the struggle against heresies, the program of the north façade and its porch does not simply make visible certain beliefs about the Church and Christ. It fulfills the added function of actually refuting some of the most important tenets of contemporaneous heretical groups."

93 Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body,* 218.

94 "One motive for going on pilgrimage is the feeling that a saint's shrine has a sort of 'hot line' to the Almighty. One purifies oneself by penance and travel, then has one's prayer amplified by asking a saint at his own chief shrine to forward it directly to God." Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage,* 16.

95 Chédeville, *Chartres,* 510: "Notre-Dame de Chartres pouvait apporter son aide à quiconque faisait appel à elle pour guérir l'âme ou le corps…."

96 Bynum notes "how imprecise is the boundary between spiritual and material in most Christian writing and how psychosomatic is the medieval understanding of self" and that after the mid-twelfth century a "person" was considered to be body and soul. Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body,* xviii. In the *Miracles,* however, cures appear to benefit the body alone; there is no claim that individuals cured of physical ailments have become more spiritually fit. Yet, if body was integral to self (as Bynum maintains), then it would follow that by extension cure of the body benefitted the entire person, including his or her soul.

97 Ibid., 198.

98 The Old French version of the *Miracles* contains five more than the Latin version, which has twenty-seven. Villette, "Traduction," 2: "En outre, l'original comportait certainement les cinq chapitres que nous connaissons chez Le Marchant sans posséder leur contrepartie latine (miracles XXVII, XXIX–XXXII), puisque le poème continue de s'y référer explicitement à son modèle." Ward, however, believes that Le Marchant added the five miracles. See *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 157.

Bynum notes that in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries "miracles of food multiplication and replenishment were common." *Resurrection of the Body,* 223. See her *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Miracles ten and eleven, therefore, are representative of their age.

99 It should be noted that Kunstmann and Villette distinguish the miracles in their own ways. Kunstmann adheres to Ernest Langlois' order, which is discussed in "Les manuscrits des Miracles de N.D. de Chartres," *Revue Mabillon* II (1906):62–82. On 33 Kunstmann writes, "On peut, pour analyser le recueil de Jean le Marchant, reprendre les distinctions faites par Langlois à propos du texte latin. Les miracles 'specialement accomplis, et écrits, à Chartres' se rapportent 'soit à la reconstruction de la cathédrale' (n° X, XI, XII, XV, XVII, XVIII), 'soit aux heureux effets de l'invocation de N.D. et du pèlerinage, pour la préservation des dangers' (n° XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXVIII, XIII, XVI, XIX, VII, VIII, XXVII), 'soit à la guérison d'accidents et d'infirmités' (n° IV, XIV, XX, XXV, II, V, VI, IX, XXVI, XXXII); 'enfin, il y a les miracles opérés, dans d'autres localités, et adaptés à Chartres' (n° I, XXIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI)." On 12–13 of his "Traduction" Villette suggests another way of ordering the miracles although he cross-lists a number of them: (1) manifestations prodigieuses (seventeen, eighteen, twenty-three, twenty-nine, and thirty-one), (2) aide pour une victoire (twenty-eight), (3) aide pour une libération (twenty-four), (4) préservations (three, nine, twelve, thirteen, sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-two, and twenty-seven), (5)

résurrections (six, seven, eight, and nineteen), (6) multiplications (ten and eleven), (7) guérisons (two, five, fourteen, fifteen, twenty-five, twenty-six, and thirty-one [sic]), and (8) restitution de membres (one, four, twenty, and thirty).

100 Miracle nine recounts that the Virgin spared a small child, who had been left in the care of a young sibling, from fire. In miracle twenty-four a pilgrim taken hostage en route to Chartres is liberated by the Virgin (although this is both a miracle of apparition and a miracle of protection, I have included it in the latter category because the emphasis is on the liberation of the pilgrim. The Old French rubric to the miracle reads "Dou pelerin que nostre dame delivra de prison.") These miracles, along with the two discussed in the text, were clearly intended to persuade the audience that Mary protects her people.

101 See Gaston Bachelard's discussion of the cosmic roots of houses in Henri Bosco's *L'Antiquaire* in *The Poetics of Space*, 23–24.

102 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 167–69.

103 Ibid., 217–21.

104

Ibid., 75:	Villette, "Traduction," 36:
Deux jors ou trais, la aval furent, C'onques n'i mengerent ne burent, Car la dame les soustenoit Dom leur sostenance venoit, Et li haut rois de majesté	Deux jours ou trois, ils demeurèrent en bas, Sans jamais manger ni boire; Car la dame les soutenait. D'elle venait leur soutien, Ainsi que du haut roi de majesté

Note that the Latin version of the miracle is not explicit about the Virgin's sustenance of the relic's rescuers.

105 Ibid., 162–63:

et sicut mos est peregrinis illuc advenientibus sub scrinio beate Virginis humiliato corde et inclinato capite devotius pertransiret, contigit ut quasdam camisias quas ex industria secum distulerat pia intentione et simplici devotione illi sacrosancto scrinio admoveret spem scilicet bonam et firmam fideli mente concipiens	Souz la seinte chasse passa Et fist ne sé quantes chemises Qu'il avoit en ses cofres mises A la seinte chasse touchier Pour le seintüere qu'ot chier, Qui enz est enclous sanz feintise, C'est por voir la seinte chemise

quod sanctificata et intemerabilis et omni lorica prestantior foret illa camisia que ad intemerate Virginis scrinium quod sacrosanctam ejus camisiam continet aliquando fuisset apposita.

Qu'entor ses reins avoit vestue
La haute Virge, a sa char nue,
Quant enfanta le sauv[e]eur….

Note Le Marchant's comment that the relic is enclosed there "without deception." The clergy had to not only convince people of the power of the relic, they also had to assure their audience that the relic was actually in the cathedral!

106 Ibid., 164–65:

Armati igitur contra inermem protinus irruentes corpus ejus lanceis transverberare conati sunt quasi de ipsius interitu jam securi et voluntatis sue propositum perfecisse gaudentes; verum loricam fidei ferri acies penetrare non potuit, ictus lancearum subtilis camisia tanquam murus igneus reppulit et inter hostium arma furentium illesus permansit et integer qui vitam deberet amittere loricam etiam duplici loricatus.

Li chevalier fu envaï
De cels dom ill estoit haï,
Qui moult forment s'esjoïssoient
De ce qu'ocirre le quidoient,
Et moult hadi(e)ment 'asaillirent.
De glaives tranchans le ferirent
Que la robe li ont perciee;
Me la chemise delïee
Ne fu (pas) perciee n'entamee,
Car la douce dame ennoree
I avoit celle vertu mise:
Ne fu perciee ne maumise,
Por ce qu'il I oit sa creance,
De cop de glaive ne de lance.

107 Among the body parts the Lady of Chartres heals are the mind (miracle two), tongues (miracles four and twenty), face (miracle one), hands (miracles two, five, twenty-five, and twenty-six), and feet (miracles five, twelve, and thirty (a rotten foot and leg)).

108 Villette, "Traduction," 81: "Ruptura: la ronture ou routure (du latin rumpo; rompre, roture, rupture, route relévant de la même famille étymologique) désigne, en ancien français, la hernie; plus rarement une fracture, qui n'est pas de soi une maladie."

109 Ergotism, a disease that can be transmitted by infected flour, was a particular problem for wheat growing regions. People suffering from the disease can experience disorientation, convulsions, cramping, and chronic gangrene in their limbs. An extremity with chronic (also known as dry) gangrene will die; it will become bloodless, turn cold and dark, and ultimately decompose. Miraculous cures of ergotism, therefore, liberated sufferers from a partial death. If the limb had already died, the cure could easily be considered a partial resurrection, triumph over a partial death. Ward observes that ergotism hit the lower classes particularly hard (*Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 142).

Note that just like in the Rocamadour miracles, the people who are cured in this miracle leave wax models of their restored limbs. Ward points out that this practice predates the Christian era (*Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 261, note 90).

110

Kunstmann, Miracles, 226:	Villette, "Traduction," 162–63:
Qui velt oïr vers moi se traie! Talent m'est pris qu'encor retraie De la soustil fisicïane, De la sage cirurgiane De Chartres une belle cure. Nostre Dame plus d'enfers cure Que tuit li grant fisicïen Ne tuit li bon cyrurgien De Montpellier ou de Salerne.	Qui veut etendre vienne vers moi! Le désir me prend de rapporter encore De l'habile guérisseuse, De la savante chirurgienne De Chartres une belle médication. Notre-Dame soigne plus de malades Que tous les grands médecins On que tous les bons chirurgiens De Montpellier ne de Salerne.

111 Monica Green, "Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14 (Winter 1989): 447.

112 "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century,* edited by Robert L.Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: Published by the University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1991 [1982]). For a recent response to Southern's view of the school of Chartres, see Edouard Jeauneau, *L'âge d'or des écoles de Chartres* (Chartres: Houvet, 1995).

113 This miracle is taken almost word for word from the *Miracles de Soissons*. The only addition is the passage that reveals Notre-Dame of Chartres as the intercessor. Villette writes: "Notre texte latin est, mot pour mot, celui qu'on

peut lire également dans le livre des *Miracles de Soissons* de Hugues Farsit (cf. Migne, P.L.CLXXIX, col. 1871–1782). L'histoire se serait passée exactement lors d'une épidémie d'ergotisme en 1128 et le miracle aurait eu lieu, selon Anselme Gemblay, également témoin oculaire (cf. P.L.CLX, col. 252), dans la nuit d'un vendredi au samedi. Notre manuscrit latin a seulement en plus le passage concernant la révélation du nom de Notre-Dame de Chartres, qui pourrait être tenue (mais ce n'est pas absolument certain) pour une addition chartraine. L'auteur anonyme du latin, s'il a démarqué ce chapitre, ce qui constitue un cas exceptionnel, l'a du moins inséré à une place quelconque." "Traduction," 17, note 1.

114 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 53–54:

Invaserat enim idem ignis faciem et ora mulieris predicte et jam cum horrore intuentium quicquid carnulente cartilaginis in naso ejus prominebat et labium superius quod naso subjacet, usque ad maxillares et gingivas molares…	Fu Gondree de feu esprise Que si fort la fist […] Que le nes ovec le […] Li ardi, ice virent meint, Si que cuir ne char n'i remeint, Einz perdi tout par ce torment:

Le nes et la levre ensement,
Cele desus qui au nes touche,
Si qu'il apperoit de la bouche
Par dehors quant [qu'] il ot dedens,
Et les gencives et les dens,
Et par devant et par desrierres,
Tretout dusqu(e)'au dens messelieres,
Qui aprurenttoutes nues,
De char et de cuir desvestues.
N'encor le feu pas ne cessoit
Qui nul hore ne la lessoit,
Einz li porprenoit ja le vis.

115 Ibid., 58. The translation in the text is from the Latin:

Fidelibus annuntiabis quod Domina Carnotensis hoc fecit.	La dame de Chartres, ce di, T'a garie, ce puez savoir.

Recent scholarship on the Cathedral of Soissons, which suggests that its building began around 1190 and that it was actually the model for Chartres, may offer evidence of civic rivalry in which to consider this

powerful miracle story. See Dany Sandron, *La cathédrale de Soissons: architecture du pouvoir* (Paris: Picard, 1998).

116 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 60:

Ardor igitur fervensque fides populorum non erubescebat nasum et ora illius osculari quasi quod modo recenter manibus ipius [sic] Dei esset fictum.	Toutes les gens qui l'ont veüe L'aviserent et la quenurent Et de toutes pars acorurent, Et nes et bouche li besoient Ceulz qui eschever la soloient.

117 This miracle is part of the collection of miracles of Our Lady of Soissons, which were said to take place in 1128 but were not written down until 1143. (Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 142) The stages of cure Gondrée enjoyed suggest competition between the towns of Soissons and Chartres. This strategy of cure had been used in the monk Haimo's account of the miracles surrounding the rebuilding of Pierre-sur-Dive in 1145: "twice Haimo tells miracle stories about St Pierre that emphasize the power of Dive at the expense of Chartres. A boy who was deaf and dumb was cured in one ear only at Chartres; the other ear was cured and his dumbness removed after prayer to Our Lady at St Pierre-sur-Dives. Emma, a sick woman from Bayeux, lay ill at Chartres for fifteen days and was cured only when she at last went to pray to Our Lady at St Pierre." Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind,* 152.

118 Ibid., 55–56.

119 For miracle thirty-two see Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 238–41.

120 Miracles two, twenty-six and twenty-five, respectively. See Kunstmann, 61–65; 206–212; and 190–205.

121

Ibid., 227:	Villette, "Traduction," 163:
Ses vendenges et ses dessertes Et sa gaaigne avoit perdue, Por ce qu'avoit ou pié eüe, Lonc tens ne sai quel maladie.	Il avait perdu ses vendanges Et ses revenus et son gain parce qu'il avait eu au pied, Longtemps, je ne sais quelle maladie.

122 Ibid., 227–28.

123 Ibid., 79–87.

124 See above.

125 The miracles which record the drowning of children are numbers seven, eight, and nineteen. Miracle six recounts the story of an infant girl who choked to death on a glass shard.

126 It should be noted that pilgrimages were not only undertaken in exchange for the resurrection of a child. Conversely, they could also be made as penance for trying to take a child's life. In the late fourteenth century

Colette Wardavoir, an unmarried sixteen-year-old girl, hid her pregnancy and later abandonned her child for fear of her parents. The baby survived the attempted infanticide and Colette's pardon required a pilgrimage to Chartres on bare feet. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 138, no. 272.

127 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 153 and 151, respectively:

non minus quam de naturalis filii interitu contristatur.	Com s'il fust son filz de nature.

128 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 98–99:

beate Dei genetrici eam offerens que prius velud mortua, immo ut arbitror, vere mortua, ferebatur ac pro restituta sibi filia gratias referens, quam sibi reddendam prius devotissime precebatur.	Sur l'autel a s'offrande mise: A Nostre Dame son enfant Presenta hetié et vivant

This is similar to the stained glass window at Chartres that depicts a Nativity scene showing the infant Jesus on an altar instead of in a manger.

129 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 106. The translation is from the Latin:

misericordie mater materne anxietatis miseriam miserando respexit….	La dame qui de grace est pleine Et de misericorde mere, L'angoise et la douleur enmere Que de son filz la mere avoit

130 Kunstmann, *Miracles*, 105:

cumque submersi vultum pueruli diligentius fuisset intuita et materni doloris gladius ejus animam pertransisset….	Et, quant a son filz l'en*t*ercha, Grant douleur le cuer l'en percha, L'angoisse la point dusqu'a l'ame.

Villette, "Traduction," 58: "Allusion au glaive de douleur qui devait percer le coeur de la Vierge Marie, selon la prophétie du vieillard Siméon prononcée lors de la Présentation au Temple." According to

Luke 2:34–35, Simeon tells Mary, "This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be opposed so that the inner thoughts of many will be revealed—and a sword will pierce your own soul too."

Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries,* 125: "During the High Middle Ages of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which in a special way combined what Ernst Robert Curtius has called 'the essential message of medieval thought,' defined by him as 'the spirit in which it restated tradition,' with what Charles Homer Haskins has called a genuine 'Renaissance of the twelfth century' that combination of tradition and innovation was nowhere more dramatically in evidence than in its portrayal of Mary as the Mater Dolorosa, Mother of Sorrows, and its correlative doctrine as Mary as the Mediatrix. The sheer number of references to her in poetry and prose, together with her ever-deepening prominence in the visual arts, would make it difficult not to agree with Otto von Simson's judgment that 'the age was indeed the age of the Virgin.'"

131 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 102. The translation is from the Latin:

Cumque mater ante altare sacrosancte Virginis nate corpus exanime posuisset et ab ea reddi sibi filiam miserandis vocibus postularet, tandem mater misericordie tanquam materno dolori compatiens preces illius exaudire dignata est.	Sa fille a devant l'autel mise, Qui en verité ert sans vie. La haute dame, en plorant, prie Que sa prïere einsi entende Que sa fille vive li rende. La douce dame glorïeuse La mere qui ert angoisseuse Regarda piteiablement Et oï debonneirement Son pleint, son plor et ses prïeres

132

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 241:	Villette, "Traduction," 174:
La mere vers son effant a Poër d'empetrer quant qu'el quiert: Le poër qui au filz afiert A la mere a sa volenté; L'un poër est a l'autre enté Ainsint con li rains en la souche. Or prïon de cuer et de bouche La dame qu'elle, par sa grace,	La mère avec son enfant a Pouvoir d'obtenir tout ce qu'elle demande. Le pouvoir qui convient au fils, La mère l'a selon son gré. L'un des pouvoirs est a l'autre greffé Comme le rameau à sa souche. Prions donc de coeur et de bouche

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 241:	Villette, “Traduction,” 174:
Vers son filz soit nostre avocace, D’empetrer nous dou ciel la joie. La mere et le filz nos en oie, Qui par la prïere sa mere Nos conduie devant son pere, A cui est reyaume et enpire Ou riens ne perist ne n’enpire.	La dame d’être, par sa faveur, Notre avocate près de son fils, De nous obtenir la joie du ciel. Que nous entende la mère, ainsi que le fils Qui, nous le souhaitons, par la prière de sa mère, Nous conduira devant son père Qui possède le royaume et l’empire Où rien ne périt ni ne se corrompt.

The translation is from the Old French.

133 The editors of the *CND* (39, note 2) write “Un autre manuscrit de la *Vieille Chronique,* ayant appartenu à Jacques Haligre l’âiné, élu de Chartres, donne en note cette étymologie curieuse du nom *Carnutes: Carnutes a* carne, *quia, affecti gravioribus morbis aut in preliis versati, homines immolabant vel se immolaturos vovebant, per victimas arbitrantes Deorum immortalium numen non posse placari pro vita hominis, nisi vita hominis immolaretur*.”

134 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 58–59:

“Ad hoc mater misericordie: ‘Fidelibus annuntiabis quod Domina Carnotensis hoc fecit.’”	Et la dame li respondi: “La dame de Chartres, ce di, T’a garie, ce puez savoir.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 See *Church and Manor: A Study in English Economic History* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970 [1913]) and *Ecclesiastical Curiosities* (London: William Andrews & Co., 1899), respectively. Also, *Curious Church Customs and Cognate Subjects* (Hull, England: William Andrews & Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co., 1895). This chapter will not cover dancing in churches because its focus is activities that were clearly non-liturgical; dances were ambiguous activities that—although performed outside the boundaries of the liturgy—were sometimes acts of religious devotion. Also, the subject of dancing in the Middle Ages—including in churches—has been covered by a good number of competent scholars. See for example Eugène Louis Backman, *Religious Dances in the Christian Church*

and in Popular Medicine, translated by E.Classen (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977 [1952]); Louis Gougaud, "La danse dans l'église" *Revue d'histoire eccksiastique* 15 (1914):5–22 and 229–45; Jeannine Horowitz, "Les danses cléricales dans les églises au Moyen Âge" *Le Moyen Age* 95 (1989):279–92; Pierre Riché, "Danses profanes et religieuses dans le haut Moyen Âge" in *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités. Mélanges Robert Mandrou* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985); and Yvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIII^e siècle" in *Mélanges 1945, III: Études Historiques* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1947).

2 J.G.Davies, "Playing Games in Churches," in *The Recreational Use of Churches,* edited by J.G.Davies (Birmingham, England: University of Birmingham, Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, 1978), 13–19; *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London: SCM Press, 1968); and "Architecture and Theology," *Expository Times* 73 (1962):231–33. *Secular Use of Church Buildings* is an ambitious work with a broad chronological scope and, therefore, does not offer a focused and detailed study of medieval evidence. This, however, was clearly not the intent of the author who wrote with a defined agenda. "[C]onsecration is thanksgiving. The rendering of thanks to God upon the opening of a new church is natural and right; this is its consecration. The result, however, is not that the nature of the space is changed; rather the result is that its God-relatedness is acknowledged. Understood in functional terms then consecration is an act whereby a church does not cease to be what it is, i.e. secular space in which secular activities may be held, but it does acquire a new and additional end. It becomes the place of assembly of God's people where they can with convenience offer their corporate worship to their Lord. The space is then holy, but this holiness is not a quality of being, but an explicitly acknowledged relationship to God. So by consecration a building is dedicated as an instrument of the mission of God; its nature is not altered, but its function is declared." (262–63) Davies' agenda compels him to focus on secular use of churches as common and ordinary and diverts him from closely examining the friction between learned clerical perception of churches (in other words, the *theory*) as opposed to some clerical and lay perception and use (the *practice*) of these same spaces. Such a consideration is necessary for a sophisticated analysis of medieval sacred space.

3 Villette, "Quand les pèlerins couchaient dans la cathédrale," *Notre-Dame de Chartres* (June 1979):4–7. See also Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Dissertation sur les porches des églises dans laquelle on fait les divers usages ausquels ils sont destinez* (Orléans: François Hotot, 1679) and by the same author *Factum, pour m.Jean Baptiste Thiers…defendeur, contre le chapitre de Chartres, demandeur…"*(n.p.: ca. 1680).

4 After the *disengagement* of the late nineteenth century, which claimed many of the church's ancillary buildings including the hospital, library, and canons' houses, the cathedral of Chartres stands alone as a museum piece; no hint remains of the church's earlier civic context (which further reinforces modern perceptions of sacred place as being reserved and removed). See van der Meulen et al., *Chartres: Sources and Literary Interpretation,* 192.

5 For an account of the rooms of the choir see Bulteau, *Monographie,* 3:83–86. Bulteau's choir plan is extremely helpful because it provides a visual representation of the layout of the choir and its rooms. It should be noted, however, that all dormitories might not be identified. For example, the introduction to the cathedral's cartulary notes that a sixteenth-century sacristans' memoir records that two valets, the officer who prepared the wine and water for mass *(sous-queux)* and the bell ringer *(portier),* had rooms at either ends of the rood screen. *CND,* 1: xc, note 2.

According to Lépinois and Merlet the cathedral had a lower clergy that was independent of the chapter. It was composed of clerics of the choir, chaplains, and a body of subordinate officials, which included *marguilliers,* their servants, cantors, and children of the alb. The *marguilliers clercs* and *laïcs* were the most important of these subordinate officers. They lived communally in a house called *la Marguillerie* and owned goods in common. There were six *marguilliers clercs,* or sacristans, who took turns sleeping in a room in the sanctuary near the main altar. There were just two *marguilliers laïcs* who assisted the *marguilliers clercs*. The room of the cross bearer was also to be found in the sanctuary. See *CND,* 1:lxxxvi–xciii and Bulteau, *Monographie,* 3:83–86.

6 *CND,* 1:xci: "Le queux, ou cuisinier, premier valet des marguilliers, remplissait plusieurs fonctions dans l'église. Au couvre-feu, il allumait les deux lampes placées derrière le grand autel devant la Sainte-Châsse, et il les rallumait à matines si elles étaient éteintes. Il préparait le feu pour les encensoirs, sonnait les coups de la messe de l'aurore, ouvrait le choeur et veillait sur la Sainte-Châsse pendant les messes."

7 *CND,* 1:xc: "Les marguilliers laïcs, ou porte-masses, étaient au nombre de deux. Ils couchaient aussi dans une chambrette du tour du choeur. Ils avaient pour mission d'éveiller le marguillier clerc de semaine pour les matines, de faire ouvrir les portes, de commander matin et soir l'allumage des lampes et cierges, de veiller à la properté de l'édifice et d'exécuter tous les services intérieures, avec l'aide des valets. Ils prenaient soin de tous les objets mobiliers servant au culte, à l'exception de ceux placés sous la garde particulière des marguilliers clercs."

8 *Vieille Chronique,* 61: "Et ut in custodia predicta frequencius et attencius vacent, jacent in ecclesia, in cameris prope altare, reffectiones suas recipiunt in pulpito…." Note that the number of rooms for the clerical sacristans is plural whereas only one room appears on Bulteau's plan.

9 *CND,* 1:xciv, note 4.

10 Ibid., xciv.

11 *Vieille Chronique,* 61: "Item, extra ecclesiam, in portaliciis ejus, a dextris et a sinistris, sunt quatuor camenile, in quibus sunt ordinati quatuor homines ibi jacentes, armati continue, tota nocte custodientes ecclesiam atque claustrum."

12 "La *recherche* était la tournée faite dans l'église, après sa fermeture, pour s'assurer que personne n'y était demeuré." *CND,* 1:xci, note 2.

13 "In dictis autem criptis est hospitale quod dicitur *Santus-locus-Forcium,* eo quod pridem multitudo martirum ibi passa fuerit martirium, quorum

corpora in magne profunditatis putheum ibidem factum, de tyrannorum mandato, projecta sunt." *Vieille Chronique*, 58.

14 Ibid.: "Locus enim iste mirabilis sanctitatis hactenus est habitus, nam ad illum ex omni parte concurrunt infirmi qui *ardentes* vocantur et sacro igne qui *ignis Beate-Marie* dicitur infirmantur; sed per [Dei] et ejus genitricis graciam, infra novem dies quibus ibi manere consueverunt, omnino sanantur vel, ut in paucis, cicius moriuntur."

15 *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI*^{e} *siècle,* edited by René Merlet and l'Abbé Clerval (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 112. The editors discuss a convent that had been destroyed and ask: "Ne pourrait-on pas relier a ces soeurs les *dames des saints lieux forts,* qui s'installèrent dans la crypte après la peste de 1134 et s'occupèrent du linge de l'église?" These sisters cared for the sick in the crypt and owned a house on the rue de la Corroierie, which they sold to the chapter around 1650 (Lépinois, *Histoire,* 1:461).

16 Ibid., 113.

17 Bulteau, *Monographie,* 3:342: "Le chapitre, dit Souchet, ordonna vers 1360 aux marguilliers d'avoir deux bons chiens pour garder l'église; mais on fut contraint de les ôter pour le grand bruit qu'ils faisaient la nuit et empêchaient de dormir ceux qui dormaient dans l'église pour la garder."

18

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 227:	Villette, "Traduction," 164:
Assés i trueve d(e)'amortez	Il y trouve bien des moribonds
Et de malades qui se plaignent:	Et des malades qui se plaignent.
Li un ardent, li autre estaignent,	Les uns brûlent, d'autres ne brûlent plus,
Li un pleure, li autre crie.	L'un pleure, l'autre crie.

For an earlier discussion of miracle thirty see chapter two.

19 Again, see chapter two. The Old French says that "il put plus que ne fet seit." Kunstman, *Miracles,* 227.

20

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 234:	Villette, "Traduction," 169:
Entour l'autel sovent coroit,	Courrait continuellement autour de l'autel,
Dou pié sané sovent feroit	Frappait continuellement du pied guéri
Grans cops desus le pavement	De grands coups sur le pavement,
Et si crioit moult hautement:	Et it criait à pleine voix:
"Veci le pié la belle dame,	"Voici le pied de la belle dame! Voici le pied de la belle dame!"
Veci le pié la belle dame!"	

21 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 235: “Quar lïenz ot assez geü.”

22

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 235:	Villette, “Traduction,” 170:
Par le moustier sunt esjoï Et clerc et lai, homes et fames. Les cloistrieres et bones dames De chanz firent grant melodie. Es clochiers fu la sonerie Et longue et grant et merveilleuse.	A travers l’église se réjouissent Clercs et laïcs, hommes et femmes. Les cloîtrières et bonnes dames Firent un grand concert de chants. Dans les clochers la sonnerie Fut longue, grande et merveilleuse.

23 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 134. The translation is from the Old French:

Unde cum eo tempore multi debiles et infirmi causa recuperande saultis in Carnotensi ecclesia morarentur et ibi etiam morarentur in grabatis….	Avoit de malades grant presse Qui en l’iglise demoraient, A Chartres, et qui se gesaient Parmi l’iglise les a les Et en litieres et en les; Chacun garison et aïe Atendoit de sa maladie.

24 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 134–35:

[N]oluit predictus Guillelmus inde recedere, beneficii quidem a pia Domini matre accepti nunquam deinceps inmemor, nunquam ingratus, ut gloriose Virginis jugiter in ecclesia deserviret eorumdem infirmorum curam excepit quibus ut erat vultu benignus et mente benignior cotidiano victu necessaria quandiu postea vixit diligenter et sollicite ab	Guillaume, qui ert piteables Et de la bonté remenbrables Que la mere Dieu li ot feite, Sa volonté a a ce treite Que en l’iglise serviret La dame ne ne partiret James nul jor de son servise. Des malades qui en l’iglise Demoroient reçut la cure Et leur vie et leur norreture Leur porchaça diligiaument Et leur departi leiaument Ce qu’i leur avoit porchacié.

omnibus perquirebat et quesita eisdem…infirmis fideliter erogabat.

25 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 209: "et perseveraverunt die illa et nocte sequenti usque in diem crastinam…."

26 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles,* translated by H.von E.Scott and C.C.Swinton Bland with an introduction by G.G.Coulton (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.), 1:233–34. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum,* edited by Joseph Strange (Brussels: J.M.Heberle, 1851), 1:205: "ut qui dormire non potuerit, et caput super illum posuerit statim dormiat."

27 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum,* 1:205–206.

28 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 86. The translation is from the Old French:

Pernoctabat autem quam plurimis noctibus foris in claustro—non enim omnes infra ambitum ecclesie poterant contineri—peregrinorum maxima multitudo, ita quod clerici qui ad matutinos surrexerant claustrum ingredi pre multitudine populi non valebant.

Tant y venoit de pelerins,
Et par voies et par chemins,
Que c'estoit une grand merveille.
Chacune nuit fesoient veille
Et en avoit tant en l'iglise
Qu'il n'i pöaient en nulle guise,
Eins convenoit qu'il en geüst
Et, au souper, se repeüst
Ou cloistre la greigneur partie.
Chacune place ert toute emplie
De pelerins, de pelerines….

29 Villette, "Quand les pèlerins couchaient dans la cathédrale," 4.

30 Bulteau, *Monographie,* 45–46. Bulteau mentions that the nave was cleaned after the feasts of the Assumption (August 15) and Mary's Nativity (September 8).

31 In Villette, "Quand les pèlerins couchaient dans la cathédrale," 6. Villette also cites a sixteenth-century entry in the register of the *hôtel de ville* that suggests that at least some clergy had a problem with this use of the church: "Sur la remonstrance verbale faite par M.Josse, chanoine de Notre-Dame, à ce que les vagabonds pèlerins et aultres venant en voïaux jours de la my-aoust et de la Nativité, en septembre, ne couchent dorénavant en la dicte église Notre-Dame ainsi qu'ils ont accoutumé faire, pour obvier aux inconvénients infections et ordures qu'ils y font; a été répondu par MM. les Echevins que de leur part, ils feront ce qu'il appartient et donneront conseil, confort et aide à MM. du Chapitre."

32 *EHD,* 2:770. For a discussion of the Constitutions of Clarendon, see chapter four.

33 Hugh of Poitiers, *The Vézelay Chronicle and other Documents from MS. Auxerre 227 and Elsewhere,* translated with notes, introduction, and accompanying material by John Scott and John O.Ward (Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State University of New York, Binghamton, 1992), 188.

34 Mansi, *Sacrorum,* 24: col. 1019. "Quia quidam clerici ecclefias fic exponunt fuppellectilibus & ayfinis propriis & etiam alienis, ut potius domus laicae quam Dei bafilicae videantur; idcirco firmiter prohibemus, ne hujufmodi fuppellectilia & ayfinae in ecclefiis admittantur, nifi propter guerram aut incendia repentina, feu alias neceffitates urgentes ad eas oporteat habere refugium. Sic tamen quod, neceffitate ceffante, res in loca priftina reportentur."

35 Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St. Martin's of Tournai,* translated with an introduction and notes by Lynn Harry Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 78.

36 Julia Barrow, "Urban Cemetery Location in the High Middle Ages," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600,* edited by Steven Bassett (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992), 93. Also, H. Guillotel, "Du rôle des cimetières en Bretagne dans le renouveau du XI^{e} et de la première moitié du XII^{e} siècle," *Memoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 52 (1972–74):5–26.

37 "[N]e canonici quidam Parisienses intra claustrum Parisiensis ecclesie vinum suum vendi faciant quemadmodum venditur in tebernis, nec ibidem lusores et potatores conveniant." L.Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX,* 1: n. 1073; quoted in Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Aux origines de Paris: la genèse de la rive droite jusqu'en 1223* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985), 84. Lombard-Jourdan notes that on account of the pope's prohibition only wholesale purchases could be made in the cloister but that soon retail sales returned. "Par la suite, seule la vente en gros du vin y fut autorisée, mais on revint bientôt a la cente <<au pot>>, c'est-à-dire au détail." The note that follows reads "Hodie lecto statuto vini non vendendi in claustro nisi in grosso, sub pena amissionis vini et confiscacionis pro Domo Dei Parisiensis…quod quidem statutum postea fuit modificatum; videlicet ut possit vendi ad potos, etc." Coyecque, *Hôtel-Dieu de Paris,* 1:129, note 2.

38 Geneviève Aclocque, *Les corporations, l'industrie et le commerce à Chartres du XI^{e} siècle à la Révolution* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1967 [1917]), 253: "Pour ne pas acquitter même la taxe diminuée, les taverniers firent vendre leur vin dans la nef de la cathédrale. Des crieurs, une cruche à la main, proposaient aux fidèles de goûter le vin qu'ils portaient. Ils enoncaient les prix à haute voix, vantaient publiquement la marchandise, pendant que des fabricants de liqueur pimentée, imitant leur example, arrivaient eux aussi a profiter de l'immunité du sanctuaire."

39 Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* 1:512, note 5: "La délibération capitulaire du jour de la lune après l'invention Saint-Etienne 1320 contient la mention suivante: On enjoint à Colin Laguiete et Jean Langlois, collecteurs du droit de *Banvin* pour le Comte, de rendre à Guiard de la Porte, crieur de vin, le

banvin qu'ils se sont fait donner par les vendeurs, dans la maison de feu Renaud de Senonches, située au cloître."

40 *The Goodman of Paris*, translated with an introduction and notes by Eileen Power (London: Folio Society, 1992 [1928]), 58. "[L]e moustier au Deable ou ses disciples vont pour le servir et ou il fait ses miracles." *Le Mesnagier de Paris*, edited by Georgina E. Brereton and Janet M.Ferrier and translated into modern French by Karin Ueltschi (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1994), 104.

41 Ibid., 1:181. Although I have found no evidence of such sales, it is highly probable that bread, the staple of chartrain economy and diet, was also sold in the church and cloister. Four ovens (one of which belonged to the bishop, another to the chapter, the remaining two to lay owners who paid rent to the chapter) were located in the cloister. See Williams, *Bread, Wine, & Money*, 42.

42 Martène, *Thesaurus*, 4: col. 1102: "quod res venales non vendant in eifdem, nisi candelae de cera: hoc addentes quod facientes…excommunicationis fententiam incurrant ipfo facto."

43 Mansi, *Sacrorum*, 23: col. 731: "quia domus Dei domus orationis est, Domino attestante, & sic non debet aliis usibus deputari, districtius inhibemus ne in ecclesia Nivernensi merces aliquae aliquo die vel tempore vendantur, & quicumque canonicus, quemquam vendentem in ecclesia merces invenerit, eidem ejiciendi ab ecclesia venditorem cum mercibus concedimus potestatem."

44 Lombard-Jourdan, *Aux origines de Paris*, 84–85.

45 *CND*, 1:204: "[P]reter dies nundinis deputatos nichil in claustro debeat vendi…."

46 Ibid., "[S]i vendentes ab aliquo canonico submoniti a claustro recedere noluerint, licet canonico merces modeste removere."

47 Ibid., "Nocte vero diem nundinarum precedente, scale vel stalla a mercatoribus in claustro debent poni, nec ante…."

48 Ibid., "[S]i mercator scale vel stalli custodiam servienti decani commendaverit, pro custodia illius noctis, serviens decani unum obolum percipiet…."

49 Ibid., "Desugundriis domorum canonicorum, dixerunt quod, si placuerit canonico, nichil sub sugundria sua vendetur."

50 Ibid., "Quod si placuerit canonico ut sub sugundria sua aliquid vendatur pro custodia scale vel stalli vel signi, idem licet servienti canonici quod in aliis partibus claustri servienti decani."

51 Ibid., 204–205: "Vie que sunt a domibus canonicorum ad ecclesiam semper debent vacue remanere, ita quod canonicus et alius cum eo colloquentes, sine impedimento scale vel stalli, libere per illas possint invadere. Quod si aliquis eas scala vel stallo impedierit, submonitus a canonico vel a serviente canonici ut removeat, si non removerit, licebit canonico vel servienti canonici, sine recompensatione dampni, scalam vel stallum precipitare."

52 *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle*, ed. Merlet and Clerval, *Necrologium* 21 (viii kal. jan.). "Obiit Odo, filius comitis Stephani pro cujus anima Adela, nobilis comitiffa, mater ejus, petentibus hujus ecclefie canonicis precepit dirui quandam ftallam macellarii ante Portam Novam, nec ulterius inibi eam reedificari conceffit, quia eluviem totam continebat et in domum

horrei noftri convertebat et carreciis noftris et plauftris inducendis atque educendis pro tectis hujus ecclefle reparandis plurimum nocebat († après 1106)."

53 *CND,* 2:103: "Consentimus nos universi et singuli, tam persone quam canonici Carnotenses, qui ad eligendum conveneramus decanum, quod stalla merceriorum que solent esse in capitelllis, collocantur in claustro, a parte meridiana, inter gradus ecclesie et majorem turrim, ita quod omnis justicia stallorum et domus in qua collocata fuerunt et ipsorum merceriorum sit Capituli, nec ille qui electus fuerit in decanum valeat reclamare, sed in omni libertate possideantur a Capitulo in qua erant, in loco in quo sunt hodie collocata, in platea que fuit archidiaconi Milonis. Actum anno Domini M°CC°XXIIII°, mense maio, in octabas dominice Ascensionis."Many of these stipulations are repeated in a document from the late thrirteenth century (1268–1277). See *CND,* 2:186–87.

54 *CND,* 1:205–206: "Petrus, Dei gracia, Carnotensis ecclesie minister humilis, dilecto filio Galterio, Carnotensis ecclesie capicerio, salutem in Domino…. Volentes…jus tuum et successoribus tuis capiceriis illibatum et inconcussum conservari, predicta, cum stallis que in porticibus ecclesie et infra ecclesiam continentur et cum tercia parte denariorum de Pentecoste, tibi presentis scripti attestatione et sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmamus." The translation of *capicerius* is uncertain but here appears to indicate a sacristan who is particularly concerned with the upkeep of furniture. See van der Meulen's note that from the fourteenth century *capicerius* is equated with *capitiarius,* which usually indicates a keeper of furniture and other goods of the chapter (*Chartres,* 281).

55 "In capitulo generali Nativitatis beati Johannis 1327 ordinatum fuit quod de coetero expellantur ab ecclesia proclamatores vini, ribaldi, garcones et pergamentum vendentes." Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes,* 235, note 470.

56 Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* 1:181: "Les serviteurs des chanoines, les chapelains, clercs, marguilliers, gardiens de nuit, *le bas-choeur, enchérissaient*, comme il est d'usage, sur les doctrines de leurs maîtres. De là ces rixes continuelles avec les gens de l'Évêque et du Comte, qui, pendant le procès, se multiplièrent de telle sorte que de 1317 à 1327 il ne se passa, pour ainsi dire, pas une année sans qu'une effusion de sang, dans l'intérieur de la cathédrale, ne vint nécessiter la purification et la reconciliation de l'église." Punishment for such offenses was determined according to the offender's position and the seriousness of his crime.

57 Ibid.

58 *Decretals,* Lib. III, Tit. XLIX, c. V: "Quum ecclesia Dei secundum evangelicam veritatem domus orationis esse debeat, non spelunca latronum aut sanguinis forum: saeculares judicis causas ubi de sanguinis effusione et corporali poena agitur, in ecclesiis vel coemeteriis agitare sub interminatione anathematis prohibemus. Absurdum enim est et crudele, ibi iudicium sanguinis exerceri, ubi est tutela refugii constituta."

59 "Statuta Synodalia Cadurcensis, Ruthenensis, et Tutelensis Ecclesiarum" in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio,* 54 vols. in 59, edited by Ioannes Dominicus Mansi (Paris; Arnhem; Leipzig: 1901–1927 [1759–1798]),

24: col. 1020: "prohibemus ne judices feculares, & baylivi officiales, feu nuntii faeculares, in ecclefiis vel coemeteriis caufas, contentiones & lites feu placita audiant laicorum, quia proceffus caufarum in eis habitus ipso jure non tenet."

60 Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St. Martin's of Tournai,* 16. Odo was master of the cathedral school of Tournai from 1086 to 1092.

61 Ibid., 14.

62 "Fulbert here uses the term *atrium* to denote his court. The *atrium* was the porch of a church and a convenient meeting place." Frederick Otten Behrends, "Bishop Fulbert and the Diocese of Chartres (1006–1028)" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1962), 137, note 13. Other possible meanings of the word include *churchyard and cemetery*.

63 *CND,* 2:196: "[E]t in dictis scalis ponere seu poni facere perjuros et alios prisonarios suos, per se vel mandatum suum, per claustrum ducere et reducere, libere et quiete, quocienscumque sibi viderint expedire."

64

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 189:	Villette, "Traduction," 125:
Qui tunc ad ecclesiam veniens Carnotensem et singulis deinceps annis quandiu vixit multis in eadem ecclesia supradicta omnia que sibi contigerant enarravit.	Venant à l'église de Chartres alors, et désormais chaque année aussi longtemps qu'il vécut, il raconta à bien des gens dans cette église toute son aventure.

65

Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 215:	Villette, "Traduction," 152:
A ce fet quant fu recité, L'esvesque d'Angers la cité, Vaillant hom et de grant afere, Ert en l'iglise quant retreire Ce miracle a la fame oï….	Lorsque ce fait fut conté, L'évêque de la cité d'Angers, Homme de valeur et de grande condition, Etait dans l'église quand il entendit La femme rapporter ce miracle….

66 Power, *Goodman,* 38. "[C]hangier divers lieux ne aler ça ne la…." Brereton and Ferrier, *Mesnagier*, 46.

67 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles,* 1:327. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum,* 287: "Die quadam Dominica, cum sacerdos in ecclesia, cuius erat plebanus, circuiret, et aqua benedicta populum asperget, ad ostium ecclesiae veniens, matronam quandam pompatice venientem, et ad similitudinem pavonis variis ornamentis pictam obviam habuit, in cuius cauda vestimentorum, quam trahebat post se longissimam, multitudinem daemonum residere conspexit. Erant enim

parvi ut glires, nigri sicut Aethyopes, ore cachinnantes, manibus plaudentes, et sicut pisces intra sagenam conclusi saltantes. Revera ornatus muliebris sagena diaboli est."

68 Geoffrey of La Tour Landry, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, translated by William Caxton and edited by M.Y.Offord (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

69 Ibid. Chapter 27 may be found on pages 48–49. The section ends: "And thus were they chastised/that fro than forthon/they kepte them from spekying and Ianglyng in the tyme of the seruyce of god/wherfore we may wel vnderstonde by this ensample that no persone ought not talk in the chirche ne distourble the seruyse of god."

70 Ibid., 50: "how that ye ouzt to mayntene you humbly and deuoutedly in the Chirche/and not to talke ne iangle…."

71 Ibid., 57: "mocke the chirche and the hows of god."

72 Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* 1:549: "Le jour de Pâques, après le dîner, les chanoines se réunissaient chez le Chambrier pour faire une partie de dés…."

73 Ibid., 550: "On cessait de chanter *Alleluia* aux premières vêpres du dimanche de la Septuagésime, suivant les rubriques de l'église de Chartres. A ce moment, les enfants de choeur lançaient dans la nef un *sabot,* sort de toupie, et le chassaient à grands coups de fouet jusque dans le cloître. Cet usage bizarre existait encore en 1775."

74 John Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis,* edited by Heriberto Douteil (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 223: Sunt enim quedam ecclesie, ubi in claustris etiam ipsi episcopi uel archiepiscopi cum suis clericis ludunt, ut etiam descendant usque ad ludum pile. Et dicitur hec libertas ideo decembrica, quia antiquitus consuetudo fuit apud gentiles, ut hoc mense pastores et servi et ancille quadam libertate donarentur festa agentes conuiuia post collectas messes. Licet autem magne ecclesie ut Remensis hanc ludendi consuetudinem teneant, tamen non ludere laudabilius esse uidetur." See also Book VI of Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Rome: Ulrich Han, 1473), 204^{r}. Unfortunately, there is no modern Latin edition of this work's later book, only the first four.

75 Paolo Santarcangeli, *Le livre des labyrinthes: Histoire d'un mythe et d'un symbole,* translated by Monique Lacau (Paris: Gallimard, 1974 [1967]), 296.

Ibid., 297–98. Santarcangeli quotes Erwin Mehl's interpretation of this custom. Both believe it has ancient and pre-Christian roots: "Tout dans ce document a un air fort ancien et pré-chrétien: la balle pascale dans un lieu sacré, le labyrinthe dans un temple pris comme lieu de danses (donc, une des formes les plus anciennes, homériques), le chant pascal sur le sacrifice, le relation entre la mort et la résurrection du Christ; le labyrinthe expressément appelé *Daedalum,* donc reconnu comme pré-chrétien; la chaîne des danseurs, le solennel pas de trois *(tripudium),* le repas commun."

77 Charles DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Graz: Akademische DruckU.Verlagsanstalt, 1954 [1678]), s.v. "pelota."

78 R.I.Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (*Oxford:* Basil Blackwell, 1987), 96.

79 *The Book of Margery Kempe,* edited by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1960 [1940]), 49: "In the second year of her temptations it so happened that a man whom she liked said to her on St Margaret's Eve before evensong that, for anything, he would sleep with her and enjoy the lust of his body, and that she should not withstand him, for if he might not have his desire that time, he said, he would have it another time instead—she should not choose. And he did it to test what she would do, but she imagined that he meant it in earnest and said very little in reply. So they parted then and both went to hear evensong…. And when evensong was over, she went to the said man, in order that he should have his will of her, as she believed he desired, but he put forward such a pretence that she could not understand his intent, and so they parted for that night."

80 *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise,* translated with an introduction by Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1974), 146: "After our marriage, when you were living in the cloister with the nuns at Argenteuil and I came one day to visit you privately, you know what my uncontrollable desire did with you there, actually in a corner of the refectory, since we had nowhere else to go. I repeat, you know how shamelessly we behaved on that occasion in so hallowed a place, dedicated to the most holy Virgin." For more on their relationship see M.T.Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1999 [1997]).

81 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum,* 2:41–42.

82 Ibid., 171.

83 As Dyan Elliott has noted, the original Old French version has the couple *on* the altar whereas Caxton's translation places them *under* it. See Elliott, "Sex in Holy Places: An Exploration of a Medieval Anxiety" *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994):6–34.

84 Ibid., 8.

85 *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation,* edited by Norris J.Lacy (New York; London: Garland, 1993).

86 Perhaps the virginity of the lord's lover was intended to add to the horror of the act. The lord may have committed a threefold sacrilege by having intercourse in a church with a maiden on the first night of Tenebrae.

87 *Lancelot-Grail,* 303.

88 Elliott, "Sex in Holy Places," 14.

89 Ibid., 16.

90 Ibid., 15.

91 See above for Hugh of St. Victor's discussion of the five spiritual states of man.

92 Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis,* 44–45: "ac si jam in parte dum sacrificant eorum in coelis sit habitatio…." Also consider Prache's observation for Chartres: "[t]he exterior passages along the radiating chapels, the tiered arrangement of the bay windows of the crypt, the side aisles and the upper level, the buttresses and piers, the low rooves, the forest of flying buttresses, the balustrades, the monumental doors and the towers come together and give the exterior of the cathedral the image of a

city within a city, the image of a town, whose sacred character is revealed in the vast size and wealth of its decoration." Prache, *Chartres,* 73. Prache's thesis is that the cathedral was supposed to be a reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem on earth.

93 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 158.

94 Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum,* 1:9, *"De Priore Claravallis, qui conversus ut aliquid raperet, mirabiliter mutatus est."*

95 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception,* translated by Janos M.Bak and Paul A.Hollingsworth (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 90.

96 Alexander Murray, "Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans," *Traditio* 30 (1974): 302.

97 Ibid., 303, note 99. Speaking about how a heart should be kept clean, Humbert draws an analogy between the cleansing of a heart and a church. "Primum est ut caveatur ne animalia immunda intrent ut porci canes et huiusmodi et hoc sunt grossa peccata."

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid., 301.

100 *CND,* 1:213–14.

101 Ibid.

102 A.Lecocq, "Historique du cloître Notre-Dame de Chartres," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 1 (1858):128.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1 For clarity's sake I use "Church" when referring to either the universal or English Church and "church" when referencing Canterbury Cathedral or another church building.

2 The most important of the collections is the *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury,* edited by J.C.Robertson (vols. 1–6) and J.B.Sheppard (vol. 7) (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965 [1875–85]). This chapter focuses on the actual murder and therefore limits its documentary base to those authors who described the murder itself. For Benedict of Peterborough see vol. 2:1ff.; Edward Grim, 2: 430ff.; John of Salisbury, 2:316 ff.; William fitzStephen, 3:132ff.; William of Canterbury, 1:129 ff.; Anonymous I, 4:70ff.; Anonymous II, 4:128; and Herbert of Bosham, 3:488ff. Translated selections from this collection may be found in *EHD,* vol. 2. For John of Salisbury's letters, see letter 305 in volume 2 of *The Letters of John of Salisbury,* edited by W.J.Millor, H.E.Butler, and C.N.L.Brooke (vol. 1) and W.J.Millor and C.N.L.Brooke (vol. 2) (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979–86). Greenaway also edited and translated William fitzStephen's account in *The Life and Death of Thomas Becket, Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Folio Society, 1961). Guernes' Old French biography of Thomas may be found in *La vie de saint Thomas Becket,* edited by Emmanuel Walberg (Paris: Champion, 1971 [1936]), 5161ff. It has been translated by Janet Shirley in *Garnier's Becket: Translated from the Twelfth-Century Vie de*

Saint Thomas le Martyr de Cantorbire of Garnier of Pont-Sainte-Maxence (London: Phillimore, 1975). The secondary source from which this chapter has benefitted most is Frank Barlow's *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986). For a discussion of the accounts, see pages 1–9 and 238–50.

3 Lépinois notes that John was a faithful clerk who signed his letters with this phrase. See Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* vol. 1 (Chartres: Garnier, 1854), 109. In letter 325 in Millor and Brooke, eds., *Letters of John of Salisbury,* 2:802 John calls himself "diuina dignatione et meritis beati martiris Thomae, Carnotensis ecclesiae minister humilis…." See Barlow, *Thomas Becket, passim* but particularly 158 where he calls William a "valuable patron of the exiled archbishop."

4 Henry was king of England 1154–89.

5 Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century,* translated by the author (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991 [1988]), 152.

6 Ibid., 153.

7 Ibid., 155–56.

8 Ibid., 156–57.

9 Ibid., 159.

10 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 117.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., 98. On p. 19 Barlow notes that the declaration of the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 was "the event which above all set Thomas on the road to martyrdom."

14 Ibid., 90–91.

15 Ibid.

16 *EHD,* 2:767–68. On p. 768, note 1 the editors add: "The interpretation usually accepted is that of F.W.Maitland in his essay VI, 'Henry II and the Criminous Clerks', *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898), pp. 132–47. A clerk accused of a grave offense, murder and the like, is to answer before the king's justice for the breach of the king's peace committed by the felony. Then he is to be sent on to the ecclesiastical court to answer there, as a clerk, to the homicide, in which court the trial will take place *(res ibi tractabitur)*. If convicted by this spiritual tribunal, he will be degraded, and the Church 'ought no longer to protect him'. He is then to be brought back to the king's court, now no longer a clerk but a mere layman, to be sentenced without further trial to the penalties appropriate to a layman, death or mutilation. The purpose of sending a royal officer to witness the proceedings in the ecclesiastical court is to prevent the possibility of the offender's escape. In this view purely ecclesiastical offenses were not in question, there was no dispute between king and primate as to the competence of either tribunal, and the king was certainly not proposing that a clerk accused of a felony should be tried in a temporal court, which would have been a gross violation of canon law, to which incidentally the king appealed in support of his claim. Hence the support which the king received from the English bishops generally at the council

of Clarendon in this matter on the ground that his demand was not unreasonable. Becket opposed the clause on the ground that it was wrong that a man should be punished twice for the one offense."

17 Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 105: "And it may well be that it was at this point that [Thomas] suspended himself from service at the altar as punishment for his earlier weakness."

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 109.

20 Ibid., 108.

21 Ibid., 109.

22 Ibid., 110. For example, Thomas had tried to leave England without Henry's permission in the summer of 1164. This was in direct violation of clause four of the Constitutions: "It is not lawful for archbishops, bishops and beneficed clergy of the realm to depart from the kingdom without the lord king's leave." *EHD*, 2:768.

23 Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 111–12.

24 Ibid., 115. The coronation of English kings was a privilege of the archbishop of Canterbury according to the ancient customs.

25 Ibid., 176.

26 Ibid., 229.

27 Ibid., 232.

28 Ibid., 230.

29 Ibid., 231.

30 Ibid. As quoted by William of Canterbury, *Materials*, I:114–15.

31 Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 233.

32 Ibid., 234.

33 Ibid., 235.

34 Ibid. See *Materials*, 1:121–23 (William of Canterbury); 2:429 (Edward Grim); 3: 127–29 and 487 (William fitzStephen and Herbert of Bosham, respectively); and Guernes, vv. 5064ff.

35 Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 236.

36 Ibid., 237.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., 238.

39 Ibid., 241.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid., 242.

42 Ibid.

43 Barlow discusses the difficulties of reconstruction on pages 245–46.

44 The direction of the transept is significant since the north sides of churches were considered to be cold and dark (and were often decorated with Old Testament imagery). Guernes makes much of the direction when he writes that "For the nothern church, in the north aisle, and facing towards the north, did Saint Thomas suffer death." Shirley, *Garnier's Becket*, 150 (lines 5651–5652). Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas*, 174:

Pur l'iglise del Nort, e en l'ele del Nort,
E vers le Nort turnez, suffri sainz Thomas mort.

45 Barlow notes that Thomas also may have named St. Ælfheah, a martyred archbishop (247).
46 Ibid. This is the blow that almost severed Grim's arm.
47 Ibid.
48 Jacques Le Goff, "Head or Heart? The Political Use of Body Metaphors in the Middle Ages," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, part 3, edited by Michel Feher, Ramona Nadaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Urzone, 1989), 13: "The head *(caput)*, seat of the brain, was for the Romans—and for most peoples—the organ that contained the soul (that is, a person's vital force) and that exerts the directing function within the body." Later he writes that "The symbolic value of the head became unusually strong in the Christian system. It was enriched by the increased value given to that which was *high* within the fundamental subsystem *high/low*, an expression of the Christian principle of the *hierarchy*, and by the fact that not only is Christ the Head of the Church, that is of society, but also that God is Christ's head…. It seems that the metaphorical use of bodily parts took shape during the early Middle Ages, in the writings of Gregory the Great, in Bede's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, and in Beatus' *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. In successive phases, these metaphors became politicized during the Carolingian period, then during the Gregorian reform, and finally during the twelfth century, which was particularly enamored of this comparison." (14–16)
49 *Rationale*, 106: "In capite uero pontificis sacramentalis est delibutio obseruata quia personam capitis, scilicet Christi qui est caput Ecclesie, in pontificali officio representat."
50 Ibid., 105: "Secundo, caput ungitur propter auctoritatem et dignitatem quia non solum episcopus sed etiam rex constituitur."
51 Ibid., 106: "ut princeps, a tempore Christi, non ungatur in capite sed in brachio siue in humero uel in armo in quibus principatus congrue designatur…." Durandus notes that in the Old Testament kings had been anointed on the head. This practice changed, however, when Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost and the locus of a king's consecration shifted from head to arm or shoulder.
52 "[E]nsemque vibrans contra sacrum verticem." *Materials*, 2:436.
53 "[I]nsiliit in eum subito, et summitate coronae, quam sancti chrismatis unctio dicaverat Deo, abrasa, agnum Deo immolandum vulneravit in capite…." Ibid., 437. John of Salisbury qualifies Thomas' crown with the same words (Ibid., 320): "quam sacri chrismatis unctio Deo dicaverat…." See also his *Policraticus* where he writes that "[w]ithin that state, the prince occupies the place of the head; he is subject to the unique God and to those who are his lieutenants on earth, for in the human body the head is also goverened by the soul." Quoted from Le Goff, "Head or Heart?," 17. See *Joannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policraticus sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philisophorum*, ed. C.C.J.Webb (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929 [1909]), 2:282.

54 Ibid., 437: "qui corpus percutientibus opposuit, ut caput suum, animam scilicet vel ecclesiam, conservaret…."

55 René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred,* translated by Patrick Gregory (London; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 11: "We have remarked that all victims, even the animal ones, bear a certain *resemblance* to the object they replace; otherwise the violent impulse would remain unsatisfied."

56 Greenaway, *Life and Death of Thomas Becket,* 35. *Materials,* 3:13: "Beatum Thomam, antequam exiret de ventre, novit Dominus et Praedestinavit; et qualis quantusque futurus esset, matri per revelationem declaravit. Siquidem illa praegnans adhuc vidit per somnium quod archiepiscopalem ecclesiam Cantuariensem totam in utero haberet…."

57 See, for example, Ephesians 5:23.

58 Shirley, *Garnier's Becket,* 147 (lines 5546–5555). Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas,* 171:

> Dunc l'unt saisi as puinz li fil a l'aversier,
> Sil comencent forment a traire e a sachier,
> E sur le col Willaume le voldrent enchargier;
> Car la hors le voleient u oscire u lïer.
> Mais del pilier nel porent oster ne esluignier.
> Car sainz Thomas s'esteit apuiez al piler
> Qui suffri mort en cruiz pur s'iglise estorer;
> Ne l'en poeit nuls huem esluignier ne oster.
> Mais ore en coveneit un sul a mort livrer,
> Al piler del mustier, pur le pueple salver.

59 Shirley, *Garnier's Becket,* 147 (lines 5556–5558). Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas,* 171:

> Car cil qui mielz deüssent saint' iglise tenser,
> La voldrent, e ses menbres, del tut agraventer,
> Le piler e le chief qu'il sustint, aterrer.

Garnier dramatizes the comparison by likening Henry's men to Jews (page 173, lines 5616–5617):

> E si cum en Calvaire unt Deu crucifïé
> Gïeu, qui si fil erent, e pur l'umain pechié….

60 Greenaway, *Life and Death of Thomas Becket,* 143. Materials, 3:478: "si videres, Dominum secundo ad passionem appropinquare, et imminente passione in pueris et lactantibus et pauperibus secundum Domino praeparatum occursum, et venire iterum moriturum pro Anglicana ecclesia Cantuariae qui Hierosolymis pro totius mundi salute semel mortuus est."

61 Jean-Pierre Perrot, "Violence et sacré: du meurtre au sacrifice dans la *Vie de Saint Thomas Becket,* de Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence," in *La Violence dans le monde medieval,* Sénéfiance no. 36 (Aix-en-Provence: CUER MA

Université de Provence, 1994), 405–406: "Bien plus, lorsque Guernes cherche systématiquement à établir d'étroites analogies entre les circonstances du martyre de Thomas et celles de la Passion du Christ, il s'agit, bien au-delà de la loi du genre hagiographique et des règles de la rhétorique, de forcer la conviction que Dieu, comme pour le Christ, a non seulement agréé la mise à mort, mais que celle-ci faisait partie des desseins divins."

Whereas Perrot and I draw on Girard's theory to make sense out of our evidence, he applies the theory mainly to Guernes of Pont-Sainte-Maxence's Old Fench biography of Thomas, the *Vie de Saint Thomas Becket*. I have chosen to focus on a broader document base, concentrating primarily on the five eyewitness accounts of the murder but also incorporating evidence from other narrators. In addition, whereas Perrot and I interpret Thomas' murder and Henry's penance within their sociological context, arguing that both events were part of a complex process of medieval conflict resolution, we have different emphases. Perrot is interested in establishing violence—both Thomas' cathartic murder and Henry's expiatory sacrifice—as the vehicle through which resolution is achieved and the cycle of injury is broken. While acknowledging this resolution, my interest is also cultural: establishing the central role that Thomas' consecrated body, complexly constructed by his biographers, plays in this process. In addition to violence, whose role, as Perrot notes, could be ambiguous, holy bodies and the miraculous pow ers people believed they contained provided medieval society with the flexibility needed to resolve some of its most divisive conflicts.

62 William fitzStephen writes: "Et quidem, sicut quondam Christo patiente in proprio corpore, ita et eodem nunc patiente in milite suo Thomas…." *Materials,* 3:142. William fitzStephen also believed that Christ was again suffering in Becket's person.

63 *Materials,* 1:133: "Reginalde, Reginalde, multa tibi contuli beneficia. Ingrederis armatus ad me?" Knowles writes "Had Thomas in mind the rhythm of the Good Friday *Reproaches*?" See David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 147, note 1. See also Grim's account in *Materials,* 2:436. An alternative suggestion, of course, is that William had the biblical parallel in mind when he recorded Thomas' speech.

64 *Materials,* 2:319–320: "Verba ejus nonne Christum exprimere videntur in passione dicentem, 'Si me quaeritis, sinite hos abire?'"

65 *Materials,* 3:141: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum."

66 Ibid., 143 (FitzStephen): "[A]vertit sol oculos, abscondit radios, obtenebravit diem, ne videret scelus hoc, et horrida tempestas caelum contraxit, subiti ruerunt imbres, intonuit de caelo. Postea rubor aeris magnus emicuit, in effusi sanguinis signum…." See Matt, 27:45–51, Mark 15:33, and Luke 23:44–45.

67 *Materials,* 2:321 (John of Salisbury): "[U]t libuit, inter se diviserunt, imitatores eorum facti qui inter se Christi vestimenta partiti sunt, licet eos quodammodo praecedebant in scelere."

68 *Materials,* 3:522 (Herbert of Bosham): "Erat autem in crypta ecclesiae monumentum novum, excisum de petra a multis diebus, quasi ad hoc a Deo praeparatum, in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat. Et propter metum in ecclesiae crypta illud quasi abscondentes posuerunt corpus Thomae in hoc monumento novo, quod erat excisum de petra…."
69 Ibid., 143: "Occiderunt filii patrem in utero matris suae."
70 "Cantuariensis ecclesia post necem gloriosissimi martyris continuis diu perstitit in lamentis." Ralph of Diss (Diceto), *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica,* vol. 1, edited by William Stubbs (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1965 [1876]), 349.
71 "[E]t quia communis laetitia cleri et populi crebris versa est in gemitibus, sonitum campanarum qui ad psallendum horis invitabat statutis oportuit intermitti." Ibid.
72 "Et quoniam percusso pastore dispersae sunt oves, detractis ab altaribus ornamentis, nudatis parietibus, circumquaque tota loci facies induerat solitudinem…." Ibid.
73 "Desolata est domus sanctificationis nostrae; sedit in tristitia domina gentium; omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam, nec erat qui consolaretur eam ex omnibus caris ejus." *Materials,* 2:22.
74 "[S]anguis albens ex cerebro, cerebrum nihilominus rubens ex sanguine, lilii et rosae coloribus virginis et matris ecclesiae faciem confessoris et martyris vita et morte purpuraret." Ibid., 437–38. Benedict of Peterborough was a monk of Christ Church and the first custodian of the archbishop's shrine.
75 Knowles, *Thomas Becket,* 170. Barlow notes that "The murder in his cathedral of an archbishop who was fighting for a cause could not fail to be regarded by some people as a martyrdom…." *Thomas Becket,* 267.
76 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 271. He also points out that Thomas' death had persuaded the Bolognese masters to change canon law to reflect Thomas' views (274).
77 *Decretum,* C. 20, D. 1, de cons., c. 3, D.LXVIIL Under the heading "Non debet iterum consecrari ecclesia semel consecrata" reads: "Ecclesiis semel Deo consecratis non debet iterum consecratio adhiberi, nisi aut ab igne exustae, aut sanguinis effusione, aut cuiuscumque semine pollutae fuerint…."
78 Durandus, *Rationale,* 80. He notes a number of criteria to determine whether or not a church warrants reconciliation, the intent of the violators perhaps being the most central: "Reconciliatur etiam ecclesia propter homicidium, siue cum sanguinis effusione siue sine…. Si autem absque uiolentia uel iniuria ex naso uel ore cicatrice uel in minutione …uel menstra uel aliter naturaliter in ecclesia fluxerit aut forte ludo aut casu fortuito elicitur; aut si quodcumque animal ibi occiditur uel si quis subito per se ibi moritur, aut lapide uel ligno cadente aut fulgure occiditur, propter hec quidem et similia non reconciliatur. Nec etiam si alibi uulneratus ad ecclesia confugiens, illic sanguine multo effuso, moritur, quoniam tunc non fuit homicidium in ecclesia perpetratum." According to Durandus, a bloodied church should be reconciled if the injury was caused by a person

with ill intent. Durandus' discussion of reconsecration and reconciliation can be found on pages 74–84.

Durandus' thinking is reflected in the statutes from a synod of the churches of Quercy, La Rouerge, and Tulle held in 1289. "Item, prohibemus ne in ecclefia confecrata fanguinis violenti aut humani feminis effufione polluta, priufquam per epifcopum reconciliata fuerit, divina officia celebrentur. Si vero in ecclefia non confecrata hoc fieri contigerit, aqua per presbyterum exorcifata primo afpergatur, antequam in ea divina officia celebrentur, & quam cito commode fieri poterit confecretur." "Statuta Synodalia Cadurcensis, Ruthenensis, etTutelensis Ecclesiarum" in Mansi, *Sacrorum,* 24:1020.

79 "Ecclesia quidem, quae sacro cruore violata fuerat, vel potius consecrata, se, non tamen sine haesitatione et deliberatione multa propter metum impiorum, ad protestandam injuriam Dei, suspendere ausa est a divinis…." *Materials,* 2:321–22.

80 For accounts of the reconciliation, see *Materials,* 2:443 (Grim) and 4:169 (Lansdowne Anonymous). Also see Ralph of Diss, *Opera Historica,* 1:349.

81 *Materials,* 2:21.

82 Ibid., 17: "Cui enim proprii sanguinis unctionem procuraverat Dominus, quae erat necessitas odoris vilioris unguenti?"

83 Shirley, *Garnier's Becket,* 147 (lines 5559–5560): "Blood was needed to wash this blood guilt clean; the head's head had to be offered, to raise the head up again." Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas,* 171:

> Icel sanc de pechié covint par sanc laver,
> Pur relever le chief, le chief del doner.

84 Ralph of Diss, *Opera Historica,* 1:349: "Anno igitur integro minus novem diebus illa nobilis et excellens ecclesia cessans a divinis, archiepiscopo suo, quem per crebra miraculorum insignia glorificatum jam noverat, ad terrorem carnificum lugubres exsolvit exequias."

85 Ibid. "Ad vocationem itaque matris suae Dorobernensis ecclesiae suffraganei convenerunt in festo beati Thomae apostoli, ut ecclesiam longa suspensione consternatam, juxta mandatum summi pontificis in statum pristinum reformarent…."

86 Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas,* 157 (line 5094):

> Ja mustier ne altel ne tens n'i guarderunt.

In fact, Guernes gives us Edward Grim's reaction (171, lines 5571–5575):

> Maistre Eduvard le tint, que qu'il l'unt desachié.
> "Que volez, fait il, faire? Estes vus enragié?
> Esguardez u vus estes e quel sunt li feirié.
> Main sur vostre arcevesque metez a grant pechié!"
> Mais pur feirié ne l'unt, ne pur mustier, laissié.

87 *Materials,* 3:137: "alii non esse timendum; '… Nativitas Domini est; pax regis nobis pacta est.'"
88 *Materials,* 2:318: "At iste…non tempore profano, sed die quem nativitatis Dominicae solennitas consecrabat."
89 *Materials,* 3:143. Benedict of Peterborough does not mince words and actually calls them parricides. See *Materials,* 2:15.
90 *Materials,* 2:318: "non modo in urbe, sed intra ecclesiam…."
91 Ibid., 436: "Igitur facto impetu manus sacrilegas injecerunt in eum, durius illum contrectantes et trahentes, ut extra fores ecclesiae aut jugularent, aut vinctum inde asportarent, sicut postmodum confessi sunt."
92 Ibid., 141: "…injectis manibus, eum ab ecclesia extrahere volebant; nisi timerent, quod populus eum esset erepturus de manibus eorum."
93 Shirley, *Garnier's Becket,* 151 (line 5691). Walberg, *La vie de saint Thomas,* 175:

> Einsi fu sainte iglise hunie e violee.

See also lines 5575 ("Mais pur feirié ne l'unt, ne pur mustier, laissié."), 5619–5620 ("Unt pur les clers cestui si fil martirizié/La u li mesfait sunt osté e esneié."), 5657 ("Cele grant heresie dedenz le saint mustier…."), and 5709 ("De sun gré suffri mort en la maisun sacree….").
94 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae,* translated with introduction, notes, appendices, and glossaries by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Latin text and English translation (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 2a2ae. 99, 4, 2, "Sed poena sacrilegii est excommunicatio: major quidem si volentia inferatur in personam sacram, vel si aliquis incendat vel frangat ecclesiam; minor autem in aliis sacrilegiis."
95 *EHD,* 2:820. *Materials,* 2:15–16 (Benedict of Peterborough): "Jacente autem adhuc in pavimento sanguine alii oculos suos liniebant alii vasculis allatis quam poterant partem surripiebant, alii cartatim praecisas vestes intingebant: nec sibi quisquam postea visus est satis fuisse beatus, qui non de pretioso illo thesauro quantulamcumque reportasset portionem."
96 John of Salisbury, *Letters,* 2:802–807.
97 This is the same man who profanes St. Germain's feast day and is discussed in chapters two and three.
98 Chartres Cathedral. *L'Ordinaire chartrain du XIII[e] siècle.* Edited by Yves Delaporte. *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 19 (1953):42. "[L]e 28 [décembre], veille de la fête de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry, la procession a pour but la chapelle Saint-Denis, à la crypte, ou sans doute sont déposées ses reliques."
99 Maines, "Figure of St. Thomas Becket," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973):171. The Latin may be found in Migne, *PL,* 1: col. 326: "Gaudeat novi Abel sanguinem pro se contra viros sanguinum clamare ad Dominum."
100 Ibid. The Latin reads "[a] clamore namque sanguinis hujus commota est et contremuit terra; sed et virtutes coelorum motae sunt adeo ut quasi in ultionem sanguinis innocentis surgeret gens contra gentem et regnum

adversus regnum, imo ut regnum in se ipsum fieret divisum, terroresque de coelo et signa magna fierent."

101 Maines, "Figure of St. Thomas Becket," 171.

102 Ibid. See also Lépinois, *Histoire de Chartres,* 109.

103 *Materials,* IV, 78: "Monachi vero, emissa multitudine populi de ecclesia, clauserunt ostia, colligentesque super pavimentum fusum sanguinem et cerebrum novi martyris reposuerunt in vasa…. Supposuerunt autem et vasa ad susceptionem sanguinis defluentis; non ignorantes pretiosissimum esse martyris sanguinem qui pro Dei amore et ecclesiae libertate fusus fuerat." According to Barlow, Anonymous I is "an unknown clerk who served Thomas in exile and was priested by him. He is sometimes identified as Roger, monk of Pontigny…; but in his *Life,* composed 1176–7, he wrote little of Thomas' stay there and drew on several of his Canterbury predecessors." *Thomas Becket,* 7.

104 *Materials,* II, 322: "[I]n loco passionis ejus, et in quo ante majus altare pernoctavit humandus, et ubi tandem sepultus est, paralytici curantur, caeci vident, surdi audiunt, loquuntur muti, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, evadunt febricitantes, a daemonio arrepti liberantur, et a variis morbis sanantur aegroti, blasphemi a daemonio arrepti confunduntur, et, quod a diebus patrum nostrorum non est auditum, mortui resurgunt… ." See also Shirley, *Garnier's Becket,* 157.

105 Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims,* 30.

106 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 272.

107 Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims,* 163. See also Ward, *Miracles,* 102–103.

108 Knowles, *Thomas Becket,* 149.

109 Might this suggest a rivalry between the archbishop and the Virgin in the wake of John's episcopacy and before the clergy of Chartres established an intimate connection between Mary and their church? Although not in a chartrain context, Caesarius of Heisterbach records a miracle in which a dumb priest whom Thomas prohibits from saying mass is restored to his office by the Virgin, further suggesting that the saints may have been close competitors. See *Dialogus Miraculorum,* 2:5–6.

John of Salisbury, *Letters,* 2:804–807. "Adductus est mider mutus, pectus tundens et oculos et manus erigens in caelum et ad capsam in qua est interula, id est camisia beatissimae Virginis qua utebatur quando peperit Saluatorem. Flebant autem in circuitu, et ego et qui mecum aduenerant non potuimus a lacrimis continere. Praecepi igitur afferri philaterium in quo reposueram sanguinem beati Thomae, quem mecum Carnotum detuli, et aquam in qua philaterium lauaretur. Orauimus paulisper ante reliquas et, oratione completa, philaterium misero tradidi osculandum; qui statim uoce magna, ut a circumstantibus omnibus posset audiri, 'Sancte Thoma, sancte Thoma, miserere mei'. Hausit aquam in qua philaterium laueram et cultellum boni martiris, et illico pristinam recepit sanitatem…." Ward notes that the "matter of being cured away from Canterbury is closely connected with another factor that caused the dispersion of the cult: the use of relics of the martyr at a distance from the shrine. The first and most important of these was 'the water of St Thomas', water into which a little of the blood drained from the body of St Thomas had been infused. Until this time, the

most common way of asking for the prayers of the saints was by praying and making offerings at the tomb; however, another popular means of contact with the saints, alive as well as dead, was by using water that had in some way touched them." *Miracles,* 101.

111 Kunstmann, *Miracles,* 209–210:

> autem longo temporis spatio moram faciente eo sub scrinio ipso ad ultimum pertranisisset nec adhuc liberationis gratia descendisset super eum….

> La seinte chasse remira
> Et l'autel besa moult souvent
> N'encore n'ot delivrement.
> Lors s'escrïerent tuit a masse
> Qu'il passast souz la sainte chasse,
> Et il I passa humblement
> Que desous se tint longuement,
> Mes la grace et la delivrance….

112 Ibid., 210–11:

> exclamavit diaconus de Soors, Gilo nomine, alta voce: "Omnes parrochiani et parrochiane de Soors sancti Germani qui ad hanc sanctam ecclesiam corde contricto et humiliato venistis in spe liberationis hominis hujus, ut cum gaudio et exultatione ad propria redire valeatis, de misericordia Domini non diffidatis, quoniam misericordia Domini manet in eternum justa illud psalmiste: 'Misericordias Domini in eternum cantabo', sed eamus confidenter ad locum ubi reponunutur oblationes fidelium ad hujus bassilice reparationem et nos

> Si le vit le prestre de Sors,
> Qui oï les pleinz et les pleurs
> Que ses parroisïens fesoient
> Et pres qu'il ne despesperaient;
> Lors s'escria moult hautement:
> "Seigneurs et dames ensement,
> Qui por cest homme ci venistes,
> Si dolens ne saiés ne tristes;
> De Dieu ne vous deffiez mie:
> La misericorde et l'aïe
> Est moult grant de Dieu, nostre pere.
> N'i ait nus qui desespere,
> Mes en Dieu et en sa poisance
> Et en sa mere aiez fïance,
> Qui est fleur de virginité.

reponamus ibi spem nostram”

Vos scrois par lé visité
Et vos envoiera secors
Si que liez retor(ne)roiz a Sors.
Et si sera bien, ce me semble,
Que vos ailliez tretuit ensemble
Au tronc, la ou l’en met a l’euvre:
Illec se parfera vostre oevre,
Illeques sera sans doutance
(Es)Coronee vostre esperance.”

113 Ibid., 211–12. My translation is from the Latin:

Perrexerunt igitur universi ante scrinium sancti Leobini et prostrati in terram flendo, gemendo, clamando ad Dominum et ejus gloriosam genitricem et sanctum Germanum et sanctum Leobinum et beatum Thomam martirem, de cujus sanguine portiuncula erat ibi et cultellus ipsius, et omnes sanctos Dei ut manifestaretur gratia Dei in homine illo. Apprehendit autem custos dictarum reliquiarum dictum cultellum et tetigit cum eo manum dextram persone mi[se]rabilis cui adheserat falcicula, ad cujus tactum soluti sunt digiti manus adherentis falcicule….

A cest conseil tuit s’acorderent:
Au tronc ensemble a l’oevre alerent,
Devant la chasse seint Liubin.
A terre se mirent enclin.
O pleur et o gemissement,
Prïerent Dieu et ensement
Sa douce mere glorïeuse,
Qui enfanta la fleur joieuse
Qui reforma l’estat humein,
Et seint Liubin et seint Germein
Requistrent o voiz haute et clere
Et seint Tomas de Conteorbere,
De cui sanc ot illuec partie
Et son coustel d’anceserie.
A touz sainz et a toutes seintes
Firent il ausint leur conpleintes:
De touz requistrent ajustoire,

Que Dex mostrast illuec sa gloire.
Cil qui les reliques gardoit
La destre, ou la faucille ardoit,
Toucha ou le coustel a plein:
Tantoust fu ouverte la mein,
Les dois estenduz et ouvers.

114 Abbé Marquis, "Antiquité du culte de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry dans l'église de Chartres" in *Pièces détachées pour servir à l'histoire du Diocèse de Chartres,* 1:277–87 (Chartres: Charles Méais, 1899), 278.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., 283. For a discussion of Thomas' trip to Chartres in 1169, see Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 181–82. Barlow notes that Thomas and his men "received a sympathetic welcome from the citizens of Chartres, but at Sens were ostracized, and waited disconsolately for their expected expulsion."

117 Bulteau, *Monographie,* 3:280, note 1: "On sait que le disciple de ce saint martyr, Jean de Salisbury, évêque de Chartres, avait travaillé efficacement à répandre dans son diocèse la dévotion à saint Thomas de Cantorbéry."

118 Marquis, "Antiquité du culte de Saint Thomas de Cantorbéry," 284. "Nous sommes porté à croire que c'était là la seconde relique, conservée et vénérée dans notre cathédrale."

119 Ibid., 284–85. Marquis notes that "D'autres furent érigées, en son honneur, sur la surface du diocèse: à Villiers le Morhier, à Chateauneuf-en-Thimerais, à Mommagny, à Boissy-sous-Saint-Yon, à Moulineux, à Armenonville-les-Gatineaux, et ailleurs."

120 Ibid., 285. In his *Monographie,* 3:220, Bulteau writes "[l]a rose offre saint *Thomas de Cantorbéry,* vêtu en archevêque et assis entre deux guerriers en cotte de mailles qui le prient en joignant les mains; on lit sur l'inscription: S.TOMAS."

121 Ibid. Bulteau, *Monographie,* 3:279–80: "Ce vitrail a été donné par les *tanneurs* fig urés dans trois médaillons: 1° un tanneur retourne les peaux dans une cuve; 2° il vend son cuir à deux acheteurs; 3° il racle une peau sur le chevalet.

Saint Thomas est sacré évêque; les spectateurs du sacre sont dans un médaillon voisin.—Thomas parle au roi, qui l'écoute assis sur son trône.—Il revient à Cantorbéry, monté sur un cheval et suivi d'un serviteur.—Il est devant le roi Henri, qui veut le forcer à approuver des coutumes contraires à la liberté de l'Église; le roi est inspire par un petit diable.—Un individu armé d'une massue met la main sur l'épaule de l'archevêque; il veut sans doute exécuter le cri que poussaient les méchants contre le saint: 'Prenez le voleur, prenez le traître'.—Il quitte l'Angleterre pour venir en France; il est monté sur une barque et bénit la multitude qui l'a accompagné jusqu'au rivage.—Il est arrive à Sens; il explique toute son affaire au pape Alexandre.

—Renvoyé de Pontivy par les abbés de Citeaux, il est monté à cheval avec les siens, et se rend auprès du roi de France.—Il est favorablement accueilli par le roi Louis, avec qui il s'entretient de ses persécutions.— Cependant le roi Louis a supplié le pape Alexandre d'arranfer l'affaire: Louis est assis sur son trône: le pape est à sa droite, et saint Thomas à sa gauche.—Saint Thomas prend congé du roi de France.—Le clergé français conduit saint Thomas jusqu'au vaisseau qui doit le ramener en Angleterre.—Le saint archevêque paraît devant le roi anglais, qui se montre tout affligé; deux autres personnages parlent avec saint Thomas. Il défend les droits de l'Église contre des seigneurs anglais qui sont venus disputer avec lui.—Saint Thomas est près de sa cathédrale: deux chevaliers du roi lui crient qu'ils sont venus tout armés pour le tuer; il leur répond: 'Je suis prêt à mourir pour la cause de Dieu et la liberté de son Église. Mais si vous cherchez ma tête, je vous commande, au nom du Seigneur, et sous peine d'anathème, de ne faire aucun mal à ceux qui sont ici avec moi'. Un des chevaliers du roi lui tranche la tête avec le glaive; le saint à genoux près de l'autel.—Le saint est étendu dans son tombeau; deux anges l'encensent; des malades viennent à sa tombe et obtiennent leur guérison."

122 See Villette, "Traduction," 146, note 3. Also, Maines, "Figure of St. Thomas Becket," 162–73. I would like to thank Jim Bugslag for urging caution in this interpretation.

123 Maines, "Figure of St. Thomas Becket," 170.

124 Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 124.

125 *Materials*, 2:319: "mortem libenter amplector, dummodo ecclesia in effusione sanguinis mei pacem consequatur et libertatem."

126 Ibid., 437–28. "[S]anguis albens ex cerebro, cerebrum nihilominus rubens ex sanguine, lilii et rosae coloribus virginis et matris ecclesiae faciem confessoris et martyris vita et morte purpuraret."

127 Ibid., 436–37. Grim calls the top of Thomas' head a *sacrum verticem* and a *coronam, quae ampla fuit*.

128 Ibid., 437: "Cernens igitur martyr invictus horam imminere quae miserae mortalitati finem imponeret, paratam sibi et promissam a Domino coronam immortablitatis jam proximam fieri, inclinata in modum orantis cervice, junctis pariter et elevatis sursum manibus, Deo et sanctae Mariae et beato martyri Dionysio suam et ecclesiae causam commendavit. Vix verbum implevit…nefandus miles…insiliit in eum subito, et summitate coronae, quam sancti chrismatis unctio dicaverat Deo, abrasa, agnum Deo immolandum vulneravit in capite…."

129 Ibid., 15: "[C]ruor adinstar diadematis, forsitan in signum sanctitatis, capiti circum fusus jacuisset…."

130 Ibid., 13: "Quid enim gladii adversariorum confractio nisi potestatis adversae dejectionem veram, et triumphaturae per sanguinem martyris ecclesiae signare videtur victoriam?" Benedict is referring to Richard le Bret, who is recorded as having completely severed the crown from Becket's head, shattering his sword on the stone paving in the process.

131 Ibid., 135: "acie dissiliente praesignabat Dominus in sanguine martyris ecclesiam triumphare, malitiam superari."

132 Ibid., 135–36: "Non membra palpitabant, non rigor in corpore, non humor ab ore profluens aut naribus…digitorum flexibilitas, compositio membrorum, hilaritas et gratia vultus, glorificatum hominem… praedicabat."
133 Ibid., 2:438: "sed caput quod inclinaverat galdiis evaginatis immobile tenuit, donec confusus sanguine et cerebro, tanquam ad orandum pronus, in pavimento corpus, in sinum Abrahae spiritum, collocavit."
134 Ibid., "ut videlicet secundum paternas traditiones et ecclesiae scita res ecclesiasticae tractarentur…."
135 Ibid., 320: "Denique in terram procidens recto corpore, non pedem movit aut manum, sicariis insultantibus se in strage proditoris pacem patriae reddidisse."
136 Girard, *Violence and the Sacred,* 8: "The purpose of the sacrifice is to restore harmony to the community, to reinforce the social fabric."
137 *Materials,* 2:15: "inventa sunt sub eo malleolus ferreus et bisacuta a parricidis illis derelicts, quae corruens, quasi vindicata sibi in illos potestate…."
138 In other words, Thomas' body became the rejected stone that would serve as the cornerstone of Canterbury Cathedral. See Psalms 118:22, Matthew 21: 42, Mark 12:10, Luke 20:17, and I Peter 2:7.
139 *Materials,* 2:442.
140 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 250.
141 Hans Mol, *Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social-Scientific Theory of Religion* (New York: Free Press, 1977 [1976]), 184.
142 W.L.Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991 [1973]), 196.
143 As Warren states, they wanted "effective bishops not influential Cistercian abbots." Ibid., 197. He notes on 194 that Henry's decision to conquer Ireland was most likely backed by two motivations. Drawing on Gervase of Canterbury, he writes: "Henry… was invited both by the Irish and by Strongbow [a marcher baron who, through his support of Stephen during the civil war, had lost much of his fortune when Henry became king]. The Irish 'finding it impossible to prevail over soldiers who, although fewer in number than themselves, were braver and more skillful, sent envoys to the king of the English begging him to come to Ireland, and by taking over the lordship of the country preserve them from the ruthlessness of Earl Richard'. Strongbow, fearing that the king's hostility might persuade him to accept, also sent messengers proffering his submission if the king would allow him to hold what he had won, as his vassal. Henry, Gervase adds, was susceptible to the invitations since he was anxious to stave off the sentence of interdict that threatened because of the murder of Archbishop Becket." See Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* vol. I, edited by William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1879–80), 234–35. Barlow concurs: "In 1171 the time had at last come. The political and military situation in the island required his personal attention, and an expedition aimed at establishing orderly government and reforming the Church would not only keep him incommunicado but also earn him merit. There is some evidence that one of his ambassadors to the curia in the spring had been

instructed to air this matter again. A conquest of Ireland was one of the few cards Henry could play to prevent his excommunication by name." *Thomas Becket,* 257. See also the letter concerning the conquest of Ireland Pope Alexander III wrote to Henry around 1172 in which the pontiff states that Henry undertook the expedition "for the remission of [his] sins, so also in perfecting it [he] will be made worthy to receive an eternal crown." *EHD,* 2: 832–33.

144 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 257.

145 Ibid., 272. Henry did penance at Thomas' tomb on July 12, 1174.

146 Ibid., 260–62 and 272–73. Henry, however, retained power over the Church's temporalities.

147 Warren, *Henry II,* 115.

148 Ibid., 258.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid., 259.

151 Ward, *Miracles,* 97. Gilbert Foliot was bishop of Hereford and later became bishop of London. Although at first friends, Thomas and Gilbert's relationship soured soon after Gilbert was passed over for the position of archbishop of Canterbury.

152 See, for example, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims,* 121–26 and 162–66. See also Ward, *Miracles,* 89–109. The importance of Thomas' body to the sacred place of Canterbury Cathedral was again emphasized four years after his death when a fire devastated the church. On September 5, 1174, the cathedral was ravaged so badly that most of the structure had to be torn down. Southern notes that: "At any other time this would have been a disaster. But in the new atmosphere of activity and prosperity it was an opportunity, which was vigorously seized. Within ten years, one of the greatest architectural splendours of the twelfth century had come into existence…. These activities are part of the great surge of energy and confidence in their future which followed, and was made possible by, Becket's murder." See Richard W.Southern, *The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Becket* (Canterbury, England: Friends of Canterbury Cathedral and the William Urry Memorial Trust, 1985), 16–17.

153 Barlow, *Thomas Becket,* 268.

154 Ibid., "If the cause had remained in the hands of Louis VII of France and French bishops, the triumph of the cult might not have been so overwhelming. When the students of the University of Paris organized themselves into nations in the early thirteenth century and the host nation opted for St Thomas as its patron saint, the English had to make do with St Edmund. Henry II, however, was shrewd enough to heal the rift with his old servant posthumously and make renewed use of him, thus depriving Louis of his former spiritual advantage." Barlow also notes that "within a decade of the martyrdom most of the frictional points between two competing jurisdictions and systems of law were resolved by negotiation…. While Henry abandoned formally most customs which were repugnant to canon law as newly interpreted, he still retained the substance of power, control over 'free' elections and the real lever, control over the temporalities of the church." (273)

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1 Philippe Contamine, "Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World,* edited by Georges Duby and translated by Arthur Goldhammer (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988), 503–504.
2 Christopher and Rosalind Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe, 1000–1300* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).
3 Jacques Le Goff, "Métiers licites et métiers illicites dans l'occident médiévale" *Études historiques*. *Annales de l'École des Hautes Études de Gand* 5 (1963):48–49.
4 Contamine, "Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace," 486.
5 Orest Ranum, "The Refuges of Intimacy" in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance,* edited by Roger Chartier and translated by Arthur Goldhammer (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 210.
6 Ibid., 210–11.
7 Ibid., 218.
8 Ibid., 220.
9 Ibid., 225–27.
10 Ibid., 228.
11 Contamine, "Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace," 504.
12 David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds. *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), xiii.
13 Ibid., xiv.
14 See, for example, Dyan Elliott, "The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body,* edited by Peter Biller and A.J.Minnis (York, England: York Medieval Press, 1997), 141–73.
15 Douglas, *Purity and Danger,* 93.

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